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105 understand the stories they relate. I have seen these story-
512 tellers so much in earnest, so entirely carried away by the
537 tale they were relating, that they fairly trembled with ex-
538 citement. They held their little audiences spell-bound. The women dropped their half-sewn moccasin from their listless hands, and the men let the pipe go out. These stories for the most part were about the ancient gods and their miraculous doings. They were generally related by the old men, warriors who had seen their best days. Many of them are recorded in this book. They are the explanations of the phenomena of life, and contain many a moral for the instruction of youth.

535 The *I-kŭn-ŭh'-kah-tsi* contributed not a little to the enter-
575 tainment of every-day life. Frequent dances were held by the different bands of the society, and the whole camp always turned out to see them. The animal-head masks, brightly painted bodies, and queer performances were dear to the Indian heart.

484 Such was the every-day life of the Blackfeet in the buffalo
492 days. When the camp moved, the women packed up their possessions, tore down the lodges, and loaded everything on the backs of the ponies or on the travois. Meantime the chiefs had started on, and the soldiers — the Brave band of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* — followed after them. After these leaders had gone a short distance, a halt was made to allow the column to close up. The women, children, horses, and dogs of the camp marched in a disorderly, straggling fashion, often strung out in a line a mile or two long. Many of the men rode at a considerable distance ahead, and on each side of the marching column, hunting for any game that might be found, or looking over the country for signs of enemies.

484 Before the Blackfeet obtained horses in the very first
175 years of the present century, and when their only beasts of
492 burden were dogs, their possessions were transported by these animals or on men's backs. We may imagine that in
482 those days the journeys made were short ones, the camp travelling but a few miles.

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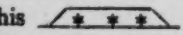
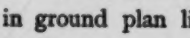
those days the journeys made were short ones, the camp travelling but a few miles.

In moving the camp in ancient days, the heaviest and bulkiest things to be transported were the lodges. These were sometimes very large, often consisting of thirty cow-skins, and, when set up, containing two or three fires like this  or in ground plan like this  . The skins of these large lodges were sewn together in strips, of which there would be sometimes as many as four; and, when the lodge was set up, these strips were pinned together as the front of a common lodge is pinned to-day. The dogs carried the provisions, tools, and utensils, sometimes the lodge strips, if these were small enough, or anything that was heavy, and yet could be packed in small compass; for since dogs are small animals, and low standing, they cannot carry bulky burdens. Still, some of the dogs were large enough to carry a load of one hundred pounds. Dogs also hauled the travois, on which were bundles and sometimes babies. This was not always a safe means of transportation for infants, as is indicated by an incident related by John Monroe's mother as having occurred in her father's time. The camp, on foot of course, was crossing a strip of open prairie lying between two pieces of timber, when a herd of buffalo, stampeding, rushed through the marching column. The loaded dogs rushed after the buffalo, dragging the travois after them and scattering their loads over the prairie. Among the lost chattels were two babies, dropped off somewhere in the long grass, which were never found.

There were certain special customs and beliefs which were a part of the every-day life of the people.

In passing the pipe when smoking, it goes from the host, who takes the first smoke, to the left, passing from hand to hand to the door. It may not be passed across the door to the man on the other side, but must come back, — no one smoking, — pass the host, and go round to the man

361 In the old days, and, indeed, down to the time of the
[575] disappearance of the buffalo, the camp was always arranged in the form of a circle, the lodges standing at intervals around the circumference, and in the wide inner space there was another circle of lodges occupied by the chief of certain
[614] bands of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi*. When all the gentes of the tribe were present, each had its special position in the circle, and always occupied it. The lodge of the chief of the gens stood just within the circle, and about it his people camped. The order indicated in the accompanying diagram represents the Piegan camp as it used to stand thirty-five
[178] or forty years ago. A number of the gentes are now extinct, and it is not altogether certain just what the position of those should be; for while all the older men agree on the position to be assigned to certain of the gentes, there are others about which there are differences of opinion or much
[619] uncertainty. It is stated that the gentes known as Seldom Lonesome, Dried Meat, and No Parfleche belong to that section of the tribe known as North Piegans, which, at the time of the first treaty, separated from the Pi-kŭn'-i, and elected to live under British rule.

575 The lodges of the chiefs of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* which
344 were within the circle served as lounging and eating places for such members of the bands as were on duty, and were council lodges or places for idling, as the occasion demanded.
• 484 When the camp moved, the Blood gens moved first and
[614] was followed by the White Breast gens, and so on around the circle to number 24. On camping, the Bloods camped first, and the others after them in the order indicated, number 24 camping last and closing up the circle.

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Just before a war party sets out, its members get together and sing the "peeling a stick song," which is a wolf song. Then they build a sweat lodge and go into it, and with them goes in an old man, a medicine-pipe man, who has been a good warrior. They fill the pipe and ask him to pray for them, that they may have good luck, and may accomplish what they desire. The medicine-pipe man prays and sings and pours water on the hot stones, and the warriors with their knives slice bits of skin and flesh from their bodies,—their arms and breasts and sometimes from the tip of the tongue,—which they offer to the Sun. Then, after the ceremony is over, all dripping with perspiration from their vapor bath, the men go down to the river and plunge in.

In starting out, a war party often marches in the daytime, but sometimes they travel at night from the beginning. Often they may make an all night march across a wide prairie, in passing over which they might be seen if they travelled in the day. They journey on foot, always. The older men carry their arms, while the boys bear the moccasins, the ropes, and the food, which usually consists of dried meat or pemmican. They carry also coats and blankets and their war bonnets and otter skin medicine. The leader has but little physical labor to perform. His mind is occupied in planning the movements of his party. He is treated with the greatest respect. The others mend his moccasins, and give him the best of the food which they carry.

After they get away from the main camp, the leader selects the strongest of the young men, and sends him ahead to some designated butte, saying, "Go to that place, and look carefully over the country, and if you see nothing, make signals to us to come on." This scout goes on ahead, travelling in the ravines and coulées, and keeps himself well hidden. After he has reconnoitred and made signs that he sees nothing, the party proceeds straight toward him.

The party usually starts early in the morning and travels

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all day, making camp at sundown. During the day, if they happen to come upon an antelope or a buffalo, they kill it, if possible, and take some of the meat with them. They try in every way to economize their pemmican. They always endeavor to make camp in the thick timber, where they cannot be seen; and here, when it is necessary, on account of bad weather or for other reasons, they build a war lodge. Taking four young cotton-woods or aspens, on which the leaves are left, and lashing them together like lodge poles, but with the butts up, about these they place other similar trees, also butts up and untrimmed. The leaves keep the rain off, and prevent the light of the fire which is built in the lodge from showing through. Sometimes, when on the prairie, where there is no wood, in stormy weather they will build a shelter of rocks. When the party has come close to the enemy, or into a country where the enemy are likely to be found, they build no more fires, but eat their food uncooked.

When they see fresh tracks of people, or signs that enemies are in the country, they stop travelling in the daytime and move altogether by night, until they come to some good place for hiding, and here they stop and sleep. When day comes, the leader sends out young men to the different buttes, to look over the country and see if they can discover the enemy. If some one of the scouts reports that he has seen a camp, and that the enemy have been found, the leader directs his men to paint themselves and put on their war bonnets. This last is a figure of speech, since the war bonnets, having of late years been usually ornamented with brass bells, could not be worn in a secret attack, on account of the noise they would make. Before painting themselves, therefore, they untie their war bonnets, and spread them out on the ground, as if they were about to be worn, and then when they have finished painting themselves, tie them up again. When it begins to get dark, they start on

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727 dead enemies save one, and to have a scalp dance over that remaining one. If a party had killed six of the enemy and lost a man, it might "cover" the slain Blackfoot with five of the enemy. In other words, the five dead enemies would pay for the one which the war party had lost. So far, matters would be even, and they would feel at liberty to rejoice over the victory gained over the one that is left.

[154] The Blackfeet sometimes cut to pieces an enemy killed in battle. If a Blackfoot had a relation killed by a member of another tribe, and afterward killed one of this tribe, he was likely to cut him all to pieces "to get even," that is, [555] to gratify his spite — to obtain revenge. Sometimes, after they had killed an enemy, they dragged his body into camp, so as to give the children an opportunity to count *coup* on it. Often they cut the feet and hands off the dead, and took them away and danced over them for a long time. Sometimes they cut off an arm or a leg, and often the head, and danced and rejoiced over this trophy.

Women and children of hostile tribes were often captured, and adopted into the Blackfoot tribes with all the rights and privileges of indigenous members. Men were rarely captured. When they were taken, they were sometimes killed in cold blood, especially if they had made a desperate resistance before being captured. At other times, the captive would be kept for a time, and then the chief would take him off away from the camp, and give him provisions, [555] clothing, arms, and a horse, and let him go. The captive man always had a hard time at first. When he was brought into the camp, the women and children threw dirt on him and counted *coups* on him, pounding him with sticks and clubs. He was rarely tied, but was always watched. Often the man who had taken him prisoner had great trouble to keep his tribesmen from killing him.

721 In the very early days of this century, war parties used ●484 commonly to start out in the spring, going south to the land

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where horses were abundant, being absent all summer and the next winter, and returning the following summer or autumn, with great bands of horses. Sometimes they were gone two years. They say that on such journeys they used to go to *Spai'yu ksah'ku*, which means the Spanish lands—*Spai'yu* being a recently made word, no doubt from the French *espagnol*. That they did get as far as Mexico, or at least New Mexico, is indicated by the fact that they brought back branded horses and a few branded mules; for in these early days there was no stock upon the Plains, and animals bearing brands were found only in the Spanish American settlements. The Blackfeet did not know what these marks meant. From their raids into these distant lands, they sometimes brought back arms of strange make, lances, axes, and swords, of a form unlike any that they had seen. The lances had broad heads; some of the axes, as described, were evidently the old "T. Gray" trade axes of the southwest. A sword, described as having a long, slender, straight blade, inlaid with a flower pattern of yellow metal along the back, was probably an old Spanish rapier.

In telling of these journeys to Spanish lands, they say of the very long reeds which grow there, that they are very large at the butt, are jointed, very hard, and very tall; they grow in marshy places; and the water there has a strange, mouldy smell.

It is said, too, that there have been war parties who have crossed the mountains and gone so far to the west that they have seen the big salt water which lies beyond, or west of, the Great Salt Lake. Journeys as far south as Salt Lake were not uncommon, and Hugh Monroe has told me of a war party he accompanied which went as far as this.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

while he and the majority, due to what he believed were misfortunes beyond their control, failed. In his old age, no longer able to work, he accepted old age assistance, leased his lands to white ranchers through the local office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which manages lands held in trust for Indian owners, and reverted to being more fully "Indian." He admittedly did not know the old ways thoroughly. He and his friends tried to pool their knowledge, to revive the old ways and to teach these to their relatively uninterested children. He spoke of the better days of the past, which to him were the days of his father's youth. These were the buffalo days of which he had learned from the stories his father and his father's friends had told during the evenings around the fire. These days were real to him not just legend. As he saw it, Indian life in those days was not a patched up thing of half forgotten bits of knowledge which he sometimes felt life to be today.

Albert Buffalo Heart represents a small number of Blackfeet tribal members I have known and heard about, one segment of the reservation population that shares a particular status, a belief system, a mode of action, a way of life that is not limited to, nor necessarily characteristic of, old age. There are younger men and women who approximate Buffalo Heart's knowledge, beliefs, and aspirations; there are other men and women of equal relative age who share memories with the old man but who think, believe and act in another world. I will introduce a few more "representative types" to show some of the varied adaptations and adjustments made to the environment of the Blackfeet reservation. The incidents described in this section have been altered in place and detail to maintain the anonymity of the people involved, but they are based on and retain the spirit of actual events. The quoted remarks and conversations are verbatim statements made to me in situations that were similar to the contexts that have been constructed here.

I met John Arrowhead in Browning where he was waiting for the mail—a lease check was due, he said. He had just finished a fence building job and said that he hoped to find another job soon, perhaps herding sheep or "rock picking"—removing rocks and boulders that had weathered to the surface in wheat or hay fields. John is a short, wiry man, dressed in denim pants, a cowboy shirt and boots. He seldom wears a hat and nothing about his dress appears to be symbolic of the traditional Indian. Arrowhead is fifty-seven years old, had completed seven years of school, and said that he had traveled widely. His travels, usually to work in the harvesting of crops or with cattle or sheep, had taken him over a great part of the country.

During the years that I knew him, the jobs were infrequent. He is known to be a good worker, is still strong and capable, but prefers to spend more time in town, visiting and drinking with his friends. Sooner or later during our visits he would ask: "How about helping me out until my check comes? I need 50¢ to buy some gas for my friend so he can take me out home to get my clothes." I frequently gave him money and then drove around a corner to watch what happened. John would stall around for a bit, then head for the bar. Many summer days are spent standing in the shade of a building, watching the passers-by, talking with friends, and trying to get a little money for wine. He is available if a job is offered, but that seems to be a secondary consideration.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

concerning the tribe and the reservation, but see their future in terms of work, money, and building capital—the ranch, the farm, the herd. Some people represented by Roy and Bob achieve more success than others in this endeavor.

I also met some younger men, in appearance and dress youthful counterparts of John Arrowhead. They, however, spend less time standing around, seem to be more animated in their conversation, and move more often at a somewhat quicker pace. Like Roy and Bob, these men are not in town regularly. Joseph Renault, for example, is seen for a few days and then is gone for weeks at a time. He appears to differ in a number of ways from the others I have talked about.

Upon acquaintance, I found that this man is an active seeker of work, is known to be a good worker who is called whenever jobs are available. He also leaves the reservation to look for work in the harvests, to fight forest fires, or to take construction jobs. His employment is irregular and seasonal, yet he takes advantage of all such work available.

Joe is thirty-two years old, ⅜ Blackfeet, married but separated from his wife. When home, on Badger Creek near Old Agency, he lives with his mother, a sister, her two children, and two of his children that his mother is raising. These seven people live in a two room frame house that is badly in need of repair.

Joe knows something of Indian practices and has participated occasionally in social dancing. He speaks English quite fluently and claims to know very little of the Blackfeet language. He talked of both work conditions and old Indian ways during our discussions, but as a participant in the work realm and as one who was marginal to the Indian ways. He is a Catholic by faith, but here, too, is seldom a participant. I met him in town, where he frequently comes "between jobs" to meet his friends, have a few drinks and then, when his cash is gone, leave to find more work.

Because the opportunities to get better acquainted with Joe were few, I have but a shallow impression of his way of life. He impressed me as a man who, if trained, could become a steady worker, or who might just as readily fall into a pattern of life like that of Arrowhead as jobs become harder to find as he grows older. I learned little of his values or the beliefs to which he is committed; his goals, at least as he expressed them, seem to be limited to the next job and the spending of the money he earns. He talked occasionally of going on relocation, or of signing up for on-the-job training, but hinted that these thoughts have been with him for several years and have never gone beyond the inquiry stage. He had been in the Army for two years where he had learned welding, but found no demand for that trade on the reservation. "I may go to Denver and get a welding job," he said once, but he never went and I felt that in all probability he never would. If, in later years, he should go, and is successful in finding a trade and sticking to it, he might avoid the Arrowhead pattern. Yet he gives the impression that he would expect to fail and would return to the reservation. What creates these impressions of a man who at first seems so open and self-assured? The assurance is there when he talks of the present, but when he is led into thinking about the future he give the impression that this is unexplored territory. He has only vague ideas to work with. Also, he seems to have but shallow ties with the past, limited to his own experience plus what little he knows of his parents' life. Perhaps he

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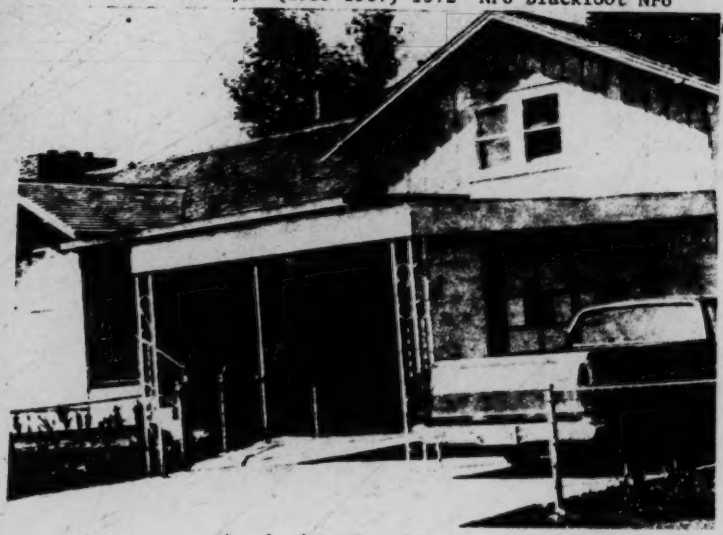

An urban home, Browning.

It is difficult to find anything Indian about Robert Thompson. He neither looks nor acts like an Indian. He knows nothing of Indian ways, and does not consider himself to be an Indian except in the limited context already mentioned. He is, nonetheless, a member of the tribe and a resident of the reservation.

There are other people who are noticeable because they dress more like city people than like country people and tend to live in the larger and more expensive homes on the reservation. One of these is Henry Rogers.

Henry is forty-five years of age, his wife is white and they have two children of junior high school age. He shares many of the traits of people like Robert Thompson, but has a distinctive life style that sets him apart. Except when hunting or fishing he dresses in sports clothes or business suits. He is urbane and sophisticated. Henry knows more than most of the people about history, literature, and the world of business and politics. He has kept abreast of world-wide current events. After two years of college, Henry served in the Air Force as a master sergeant, and he has traveled extensively around the United States. Unlike John Arrowhead, Henry's travel was not as an itinerant laborer, but as a tourist and sight-seer, a visitor of historical sites, museums, night clubs, and other tourist attractions. He lacks Robert Thompson's interest in rodeos and the first hand contacts with ranch life. His interests are in business and politics at both the tribal and national levels.

He and his brother had inherited land, and rather than lease it for grazing as so many others do, they have contracted pasturage to outside cattlemen, that is, they "run cattle." This means providing range and care for outside herds during the grazing season at a set price per head "run" on their land. This is a method of land exploitation, according to Henry, that for a little management and expense

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

await an audience but start dancing when they feel like it, often whenever a singing group begins to drum. The entertainment rarely follows the schedule, but starts and stops according to the mood of the individual dancers. Some arrive on time, others an hour or two late. Evening dances are or are not held depending upon the weather and the inclination of the dancers, rather than upon the presence of an audience. In fact many dancers show signs of impatience with the tourist onlookers who often invade the dance circle to take pictures. Tourists appear to be a tolerated nuisance rather than spectators to be entertained. The Indian visitors, who understand the dancing and participate at least vicariously, are the more orderly, appreciative and appreciated audience. The point is that the dancing at the encampment is a social and recreational outlet, and for the people involved it is an experience that plays a very important and meaningful part in their lives. During these days they are "Indians," doing things that symbolized this identity. They stress social positions of importance among "Indians" that may have little relation to the world at large. People have a special competence here that is recognized by their peers.

People who own dancing costumes leave the reservation frequently during the summer and fall to participate in similar Indian gatherings held throughout the plains area. Indian-oriented families may be gone for most of the summer, and the anthropologist who stays behind knows that he is missing out on events that are an important part of the lives of these people.

In the late fall, winter, and early spring a series of social dances, often coinciding with national holidays, are held at the community halls in surrounding neighborhoods. People from other parts of the reservation are invited or are free to attend. Often people came from neighboring reservations as well.

These dances, at the Heart Butte, Starr School, or other community houses, are usually sponsored by one of the men's societies. Those I attended in the spring of 1960 were scheduled for an early evening start, yet it was usually around nine o'clock before the dancing began. The Grass and Fancy dancers were in costume and Grass, War, and other dances by those in costume were mixed with Owl dances—round dances for men and women partners—in which all could participate whether in costume or not. Here, as in the Indian Days program, time was taken for give-aways—at least one was put on by the sponsoring society to honor guests and others were put on by individuals for varying reasons. At midnight the wives, sisters, and daughters of the sponsoring society members served a lunch to all in attendance, then dancing was resumed to continue until dawn. Newspaper and informants' reports indicated that the dances I attended were typical and that they continue to be held.

The attendance and participation at these dances confirmed the reports from my sample; those I identified as Indian-oriented were present, while few of the white-oriented people turned out. The crowds (usually estimated from three to four hundred in number) were made up of the same people who had been seen in most constant attendance at the Indian Days programs.

The more Indian-oriented communities of Starr School and Heart Butte alternately sponsor horse racing in their neighborhoods almost weekly during the

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Throughout most of the year these hunting bands moved from one temporary encampment to another, following the buffalo over the open grasslands. Each family was responsible for the movement of its own baggage. Its largest and heaviest possession was the tipi, a conical lodge with a foundation of stout poles over which was stretched a cover of buffalo hides. The size of this Indian home was limited by the weight its owners' wolflike dogs could haul. A strong dog could drag a load of about seventy-five pounds on the A-shaped, wooden travois. A lodge cover made from six or eight buffalo cowskins was a good load for one of these dogs. Larger covers could have been transported if they were made in two or more pieces so that they could be carried on two or more travois. But the necessity for dragging the lodgepoles, which increased in length and weight with the number of hides in the cover, must have encouraged the use of small lodges in dog days. The family's lodge furnishings and household utensils, also designed for ready transportation, were tied into compact bundles or fitted into skin sacks which could be hauled on dog travois or carried on the backs of dogs or women.

A Blackfoot camp on the march in dog days must have been a picturesque sight. Scouts led the way, walking a considerable distance in advance of the main party, constantly on the lookout for signs of game or enemies. The other able-bodied men of the band fell in on the flanks and in the rear of the main body to provide further protection. Men traveled light and carried only their weapons. In the center of the moving camp walked the women and children and the dogs with the baggage. Mothers carried their infants on their backs. Not infrequently women shouldered part of the baggage also.[7] The dogs, hitched to their loaded travois by hide straps, were not the most willing of burden bearers. Women had to keep them some distance apart to prevent dog fights. Occasionally a dog took off after a bitch or

[7] Pierre G. V. La Verendrye, *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gualtier de Varennes de la Verendrye and His Sons*, 317. The early French explorer observed this marching order among the pedestrian Assiniboins in 1738.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

a rabbit, or merely to get a drink of cool water from a near-by lake or stream. Under these conditions long marches were out of the question. There were frequent stops. Five or six miles was a good day's march.

The great bulk of the baggage carried by the dogs and women must have consisted of articles essential to day-to-day living. Elaborate lodge furnishings, many changes of clothing, complex medicine bundles and ceremonial regalia, surpluses of fresh or dried meat, and wild fruits or vegetables would have been excess baggage in dog days.

Blackfoot traditions refer to the surround as the favorite method of hunting buffalo in the summer season in dog days. Probably they employed the same method as that observed among the Assiniboins or Crees by Henry Kelsey, the first white man known to have met Indians on the Northern Plains, in the year 1691:

> Now ye manner of their hunting these Beasts on ye barren ground is when they seek a great parcel of them together they surround them with men which done they gather themselves into a smaller Compass Keeping ye Beasts still in ye middle and so shooting ym till they break out at some place or other and so get away from ym.[8]

Weasel Tail, an aged Blood Indian, described to me a variant of the surround which he had been told was employed by his ancestors in dog days.

« « « After swift-running men located a herd of buffalo, the chief told all the women to get their dog travois. Men and women went out together, approaching the herd from down wind so the animals wouldn't get their scent and run off. The women were told to place their travois upright in the earth, small [front] end up. The travois were so spaced that they could be tied together to form a semicircular fence. Women and dogs hid behind them while two fast-running men circled the buffalo herd, approached the animals from up wind, and

[8] *The Kelsey Papers*, 13.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

tribal sun dance encampment they obtained a brief rest between the most active hunting seasons in summer and fall.

Frequent camp movements during spring, summer, and fall required that Blackfoot Indian homes be portable and that their household furnishings and ceremonial equipment be easily and efficiently packaged. The head chief, with the advice of the band chiefs, determined the movements of the great tribal camp in summer. He sent his herald around the camp circle the night before a move was to be made to tell the people to be ready to get under way early the next morning. In the much smaller band camps during spring and fall the band chief consulted with other prominent men of his band before announcing a move.

On the morning camp movement was to get under way women were up and bustling around at dawn. They prepared the family breakfast, finished packing, and were on the move before eight o'clock. Most of the family belongings were packed the night before. They needed only to be tied in their assigned places on horses or travois. The principal task was that of taking down the lodge. Two or more experienced women could accomplish this in a few minutes. The buffalo-hide cover of an average-sized lodge weighed about one hundred pounds. It was carefully folded and tied in place between the horns of a pack saddle. The poles of such a lodge numbered nineteen. Each was about eighteen to twenty-two feet long and weighed a little less than twenty pounds. Women divided the lodge poles into bundles of about five poles each. They tied the poles of each bundle together by a rawhide cord threaded through a hole burned in each pole near its upper end and tied one bundle of poles on each side of a pack horse. Thus two horses were needed to drag the poles of an average-sized lodge.

Buffalo-robe bedding and willow backrests, the principal lodge furnishings, were packed on a horse travois. Dried meat, tallow, and pemmican were placed in rectangular, rawhide parfleches which were suspended over the horns of a saddle, one on each side of the pack horse. Berries and tobacco were packed in sacks made from the skins of unborn buffalo calves and placed in the

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

side pockets of buffalo-hide saddlebags. Kettles were put into skin sacks and tied on top of the pack horses' loads. Tools and utensils were placed in rectangular rawhide cases, which usually were carried on the horse travois. Ceremonial equipment was carried in bundles on the travois or in fringed rawhide containers over the horns of the favorite wife's saddle.

Scouts rode well in advance of the moving caravan, on constant lookout for signs of game or enemies. The other active warriors rode on the flanks and in the rear of the moving camp, carrying their weapons. The medicine pipe owner and the chief or chiefs and their families led the main body. Other camp members fell in behind the chiefs in family groups with their travois, pack animals, riding horses, and loose horses. Older boys drove the loose horses. Babies rode on their mothers' backs in the folds of their mothers' buffalo robes. Toddlers often rode on the travois. When they tired of riding, they got off and ran for a while. Older children usually rode horseback, sometimes two or three of them on a horse.

At noon the chief halted the caravan for a short rest and lunch. This was a cold meal of prepared meat, pemmican, or dried plant foods, and water. Usually the day's march ended in the middle or late afternoon so there was ample time for the women to erect the lodges, unpack the horses, and prepare the evening meal before dark. The chief chose the campsite and selected the spot for his lodge. Only during tribal movements in summer was the camp circle formed. At the end of a day's march by a separate hunting band the families pitched their lodges around that of their chief in an uneven cluster. They did not scatter widely because of the danger of enemy attack.

Usually the Indians knew in advance if their night camp was to be made without wood or water. If wood was lacking, dried buffalo chips were collected. Dried grass was used for tinder. The grass was ignited by sparks made by striking a curved fire-steel against a piece of flint. Water was brought along in buffalo paunches to supply a dry camp. Horses and dogs were watered in basin-shaped troughs of rawhide. There was little difficulty in

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

obtaining water in spring. At that season the water from melting snows collected in many depressions which dried out by summer time.

When the Indians had to cross deep streams or rivers on the march, they rolled up the sides of their lodge covers to form rude boats in which baggage and children were placed. Horse travois poles and tipi poles were lashed together to form crude rafts on which other baggage was ferried. Horses towed these improvised craft while men swam ahead with tow lines, guiding the way, and women pushed from behind. Horses whinnied, dogs yelped, and people shouted as the crossing was made. When the Indians reached the far side of the stream, they generally stopped for the day to dry their clothes and gear.

On a rainy morning the Indians usually did not try to move camp. If a heavy rain fell while the band was on the march, they generally stopped for the day. Other factors helped to determine both the speed of movement and the distance covered. Among them were the character of the terrain traversed (whether level or hilly, the number and sizes of the water courses to be crossed), the availability of game, fear of enemy raiding parties in the vicinity, and the desire to reach a trading post or a particular camping spot before nightfall.

A normal day's march was about ten to fifteen miles. This was fully twice the distance the prehistoric ancestors of the Blackfeet could have made on foot carrying their meager possessions on dog travois and the backs of their women. A horse packing two hundred pounds on its back or hauling three hundred pounds on the travois could move four times the load of a heavily burdened dog twice as far on a day's march. So, animal for animal, the horse was eight times more efficient than the dog as a burden bearer. The application of horse power to camp movement thus enabled the Blackfeet to accumulate more property and to move it faster and farther as well.

An average family of eight persons (including two grown males, three women, and three children) needed ten horses to move camp efficiently. They needed a horse to carry the lodge

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

a strange painted lodge in the camp. He reported its presence to the chief, who asked him to go see what the strange people were doing in his camp. When the young man looked into the lodge, he saw the girl, recognized her as the one who had been lost some time before, and hurried to tell her parents of her return. When her father saw the new lodge and the strange bundle, he asked her, "What are these?"

She explained, "They are Thunder's lodge and his medicine pipe. They are presents to you from my father-in-law, Thunder." » » »

Each year thereafter the medicine pipe was opened shortly after the first thunder was heard in spring. In his ritual the medicine pipe man carried his sacred pipe out of the lodge, raised it toward the sky, and prayed for the welfare of his people and that no one in his camp would be killed by thunder (lightning) that year. The pipe bundle also was opened when a camp member, in fulfillment of a vow to have the ritual performed should a dear one recover from sickness or survive dangers on the warpath, made a payment of valuable possessions to the medicine pipe man. It was opened when the tobacco in the bundle was renewed and when it was transferred to a new owner.

The highly respected medicine pipe men were easily recognized by their peculiar hairdress. Each let his hair grow long and wore it gathered in a large forward-projecting coil over his forehead. These men played an important role in camp movements, always leading the moving camp. Their pipes had a unique function in oath taking. A Blackfoot Indian who swore upon the medicine pipe made as solemn a pledge of speaking the truth as the Christian who swore upon the Bible in a court of law. These Indians believed that any man who violated his oath taken upon the medicine pipe would surely die.

There were nearly a score of medicine pipe bundles among the three Blackfoot tribes. The most sacred object in each bundle was a long wooden pipestem elaborately ornamented with plumes and such other decorations as eagle feathers, hair or weasel-skin pendants, trade beads, bells, or ribbons. The stone

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

796 237 woman began to collect buffalo bull tongues to be used in the ceremony. When a sufficient number of tongues were supplied—several parfleches full—the camp announcer called upon all those who had served as medicine women in previous years and the women who had vowed to "come forward to the tongues" to come with their husbands to the lodge of the medicine woman, which was pitched a little inside the great camp circle. There a medicine woman of a previous year who was to instruct the neophyte in the role she was assuming lifted one of the tongues and called upon the sun, professing her steadfast loyalty to her husband. Each woman in the assembly then made a similar confession. Then the sacred tongues were cut up, boiled, and placed in parfleches in the medicine woman's lodge.

796 [801] Movements in Blackfoot rituals commonly were repeated four times. In the sun dance the entire camp moved four times on as many successive days. On the morning of the first day the medicine woman began to fast. Each day the camp moved she led 796 484 [785] [783] the way, riding a horse with travois attached, on which were placed the sun dance bundle and the parfleches filled with sacred tongues. On each of the four days her husband and the male instructor wise in the ritual of the sun dance purified themselves in a sweat lodge made from one hundred willows, which were cut, brought in on horseback, and made into a lodge by members of one of the men's societies. Finally, on the fourth day, the people of the tribe arrived at the site selected for the erection of the great medicine lodge.

796 346 The major action and the climax of the sun dance occurred on the fifth day. It was on that day that the medicine lodge was built. Its most sacred architectural feature was the center pole, a tall tree trunk of cottonwood, forked near the top. A man famed as a scout for war parties was sent to select the center pole. When he found a suitable tree he returned to camp and reported his discovery. Then he led a party of seasoned warriors to the tree. A man who had killed an enemy chopped the tree down and, as it began to fall, shot at the trunk with his gun. As soon as the tree hit the ground all the warriors charged it. Each broke off

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

11: Travelers Far Afield

FOR FORTY-SEVEN YEARS after the Lewis and Clark expedition, no official government exploring party entered the Blackfoot country. One could almost count on his fingers the number of white men, other than fur traders and trappers, who set foot on Blackfoot hunting grounds in that interval of nearly a half-century. None of them were soldiers or settlers.

Nevertheless, despite the isolation of their homeland from the westward movement of white settlers, it would be a mistake to assume that the Blackfeet remained ignorant of the world beyond their own hunting grounds and the territory their war parties traversed in their raids against neighboring tribes. Time and again prior to 1850, small parties of adventurous Blackfoot Indians journeyed far beyond the camps of their neighbors to more distant regions. In their travels they learned much about the extent and character of the western country and the customs of alien tribes. Long before their own country was invaded by white settlers, they learned of the Spanish settlements in the Southwest, of the Santa Fé trade, and of the growing numbers of white-topped emigrant trains that passed up the valley of the Platte River, over the Rockies, and on to Oregon, California, and Utah.

As early as 1787, David Thompson was told of a large Piegan war party which traveled southward in search of the Shoshonis. Finding no enemy and being unwilling to return home empty handed, they continued southward near the eastern base of the

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Rockies until their scouts brought word of a long file of horses and mules led by "Black Men" (Spaniards). The Piegan warriors prepared to fight the white men, but the Spaniards, fearing to risk a battle with such an imposing force, rode off, leaving their loaded pack animals. The Indians threw the bags of white stones (silver) from the backs of the horses and mules and drove the animals home. Thompson, who was the most able geographer among the fur traders of his time, estimated that this contact with the Spanish miners was made at about 32 degrees north latitude, which would have been nearly fifteen hundred miles south of the Piegan party's home camp near present Edmonton.[1] A trek of this distance by a primitive Blackfoot war party seems almost incredible. Nevertheless, it was only the first of a number of long Blackfoot journeys southward that have been recorded.

About the year 1825 a group of Blackfoot warriors joined the Gros Ventres in attacking and plundering Chesterfield House, a Hudson's Bay Company trading post on the South Saskatchewan near the mouth of Red Deer River. Fearing the traders' revenge, eighteen or twenty Blackfeet joined their Gros Ventre allies in flight southward to the Arapahoes and Cheyennes near the Black Hills. There the Blackfoot warriors boasted of their skill as horse thieves. To prove their prowess, they continued southward, stole horses from the Kiowas and Comanches on Red River, and returned to the Arapaho and Cheyenne camps. Their descriptions of the fine buffalo country south of the Platte and of the large herds of wild horses they had seen there encouraged part of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes to move southward. Their Gros Ventre friends and the little group of Blackfoot adventurers went with them.[2]

This explains the strange presence of Gros Ventre and Blackfoot warriors on the Arkansas, about eight hundred miles south of their usual hunting grounds, where they were encountered

[1] Thompson, *Narrative*, 370.

[2] George Bent letters to George E. Hyde. I am indebted to Mr. Hyde, of Omaha, Nebraska, for copies of Bent's statements regarding the Blackfoot Indians who found refuge among his people, the Cheyennes.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

by the David Jackson and William Sublette trading party en route to Santa Fé in the summer of 1831.[3]

Four years later, Colonel Henry Dodge, leader of a dragoon expedition ordered to the plains to impress the wild tribes with the strength of the United States, met the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in council at Bent's Fort on the Arkansas. Dodge noted that Gros Ventres were present and "also a small band of the Blackfeet proper, consisting of about fifty, who live with the Cheyenne and Arapahos."[4] Probably this number included the Cheyenne and Arapaho wives and children of the group of Blackfeet who moved south a decade earlier. Whether any of these Blackfoot Indians returned to their northern homeland, we do not know. They may have been content to remain in their adopted country. Perhaps they were represented in the ten lodges of Blood Indians living among the Arapahoes whom Alexander Culbertson met at the Fort Laramie Treaty Council in 1851. "They were unknown to him, and he did not learn how long they had been there or whether they ever returned."[5]

Both the Blood and Piegan Indians have a tradition of a party who journeyed south to the Arapahoes prior to 1850 and did come back. Piegan members of this group brought back the "Southern Gros Ventre" (Arapaho) medicine pipe. Tradition says they also returned with the "big rock" painted tipi and other sacred objects given them by the Arapahoes.[6]

In 1854, James Doty learned of another long Blackfoot trek southward.

> About Ten Years ago a party of five chiefs, two of whom are still living, followed the Eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains until

[3] H. C. Dale (ed.), *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822–1829*, 309.

[4] Colonel Henry Dodge, *Journal of a March of a Detachment of Dragoons under the Command of Col. Dodge, in the Summer of 1835*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., *House Document* 181, 25.

[5] James H. Bradley, The Bradley Manuscript, Book A, p. 184 (in the Montana Historical Society Library, Helena).

[6] Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," AMNH *Anth. Papers*, Vol. VII, Part 2, 160–61. In 1947 the "Southern Gros Ventre" (Arapaho) pipe was owned by my Piegan interpreter, Reuben Black Boy.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

they reached Taos and other Mexican Towns, between that and Santa Fe. The party committed no depredations in that country and indeed were traveling more for the pleasure and to see the world than with a view to war. They were absent from the nation three years and appear to have been the only Blackfeet to have been so far from home.[7]

This party may have taken the same route followed by the Piegan war party which brought back Spanish loot in 1787. Probably both groups of travelers followed the Old North Trail, described more than sixty years ago by the aged North Piegan chief, Brings-Down-the-Sun, as running southward from present Calgary "along the eastern side of the Rockies, at a uniform distance from the Mountains, keeping clear of the forests, and outside the foothills. It ran close to where the city of Helena now stands and extended south into the country [Mexico] inhabited by a people with dark skins, and long hair falling over their faces." At that time the Piegans showed Walter McClintock traces of this old trail. He observed that "the old horse trail and travois tracks were still plainly visible, having been worn deep by many generations of traveling Indians."[8]

More recently the late H. P. Lewis, an amateur archaeologist of Conrad, Montana, may have seen portions of this old Indian trail some twenty-five miles southwest of Choteau. It was marked by travois ruts, occasional stone piles, and stone tipi circles, the sites of overnight encampments en route. Lewis understood that "evidences of this trail following the foothills, just east of the main Rockies, are to be found for many miles."[9]

At its northern extremity, present Calgary, Alberta, the Old North Trail connected with two trails leading northward to Fort Edmonton.[10]

Just above Fort Benton, so the old Indians have told me, was

[7] James Doty to Isaac I. Stevens,, December 20, 1854, Indian Office Records.
[8] Walter McClintock, *The Old North Trail*, 435–40.
[9] H. P. Lewis, manuscript, Bison Kills of Montana. (Typescript copy in Missouri River Basin Archaeological Survey Offices, Lincoln, Nebraska), Chapter X, 6–7.
[10] Hugh Dempsey, *Historic Sites of the Province of Alberta*, 50–51.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

renowned as a great friend of the whites, could not be persuaded to return to the scene of his savage attack on the emigrant train.[12]

Although the Small Robes paid friendly visits to the Flatheads west of the Rockies, the other Piegan bands and the Blood and Northern Blackfoot tribes knew the overmountain country only through the observations of their war parties. A favorite route of Blackfoot war expeditions against the Flatheads followed the Dearborn River upstream, went over Cadotte's Pass, and then down the river on the west side of the divide which still bears their name—Big Blackfoot. Farther west, Blackfoot war parties occasionally ambushed the Flatheads as they passed through a narrow defile on their way eastward to hunt buffalo on the plains. This canyon, near present Missoula, the traders named the Hell Gate, because "it was as safe to enter the gates of hell as to go into that pass."[13]

The Marias Pass, which connected the headwaters of the Marias River and those of the Flathead River on the western side of the continental divide, afforded the most gradual crossing of the Rockies. However, Little Dog told Governor Stevens in 1853 that the Blackfeet had not used this pass for many years and that it had become overgrown with underbrush. Stevens attributed its disuse to "some superstition of the Blackfeet."[14] My older informants gave a more practical reason for its avoidance by their war parties. Marias Pass was long, meandering, and indirect. They preferred the steeper but quicker short cut over Cut Bank Pass at the head of Cut Bank Creek and down Nyack Creek and the middle fork of the Flathead River on the west.

North of the Canadian boundary, Crow's Nest Pass was much used by war parties en route to the camps of the Kutenais, even though game was more scarce along this trail than in the favored passes farther south.

Some Blackfoot Indians journeyed down the Missouri, through the territory of their Assiniboin enemies and beyond Fort Union,

[12] Bradley, "Manuscript," *MHSC*, Vol. IX, 335–40.

[13] Father De Smet knew this gap as "Devil's gate" in 1846 (De Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels*, II, 582).

[14] "Narrative," *PRR*, XII, 106.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to visit the "Dirt Lodge People," the Mandan and Hidatsa earth-lodge dwellers at the mouth of Knife River in present North Dakota. Prince Maximilian noted that two Blackfoot Indians boarded the fur company's steamer *Yellowstone* at the Hidatsa villages in the summer of 1833 to return to their own people. One of them, Left Handed Bear, left behind a Hidatsa wife and small child. The other, Beautiful Hair, was shot and killed by a Cree Indian at Fort Union a few days later.

On August 7, when within two days' journey of the Blackfoot trading post of Fort McKenzie, Maximilian's keelboat party met two Blood Indians, a man and his wife, who were returning from a visit to the Hidatsas and Mandans. The German Prince recalled having seen them in the Hidatsa villages earlier that summer and observed that "the man was well made and both were very neatly dressed."[15] This handsome couple must have been Seen-From-Afar and his wife, whose visit to the Mandans and Hidatsas in the early 1830's is still known to elderly Blood Indians. Seen-From-Afar is credited with having brought back the Mandan pipe and its ritual, a medicine bundle still owned by the Blood tribe. His wife brought back a buffalo headdress of a Mandan or Hidatsa women's society and introduced it into the buffalo-calling ceremony of the Blood Indian women, the Matoki.

Nearly two decades later, Seen-From-Afar, then head chief of the Blood tribe, and his wife again visited the Hidatsas at Fort Berthold. They traveled downriver to Fort Union to greet Seen-From-Afar's brother-in-law, Alexander Culbertson, when he arrived on the fur company's steamboat from St. Louis. They reached Fort Union some days before the steamboat was due, and James Kipp, in charge of that post, sent his guests on to Fort Berthold, where they would be safe from hostile Crow Indians encamped near Fort Union. This precaution was well taken, for the courageous chief, who was "splendidly dressed," wearing "a magnificent bonnet of war-eagle feathers falling to his feet," would have made a conspicuous and inviting target for ambitious

[15] Maximilian, *Travels*, I, 363-64; II, 82-83.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Crow warriors eager to revenge the many depredations of Blood Indians upon their people.[16]

Doubtless a great many visits of adventurous Blackfoot Indians to far-off tribes prior to 1850 have never been recorded. At the very beginning of the nineteenth century David Thompson learned that there were young men among the Piegans who, wishing to distinguish themselves, "mix with other tribes and learn their languages, and become acquainted with their countries and their mode of hunting."[17] This primitive equivalent of travel abroad must have had educational value not only for the participants but also for their entire tribes. The few examples of visits to distant tribes I have cited clearly indicate that Blackfoot travelers brought back more than knowledge of geography and of the languages and hunting methods of alien peoples. Some of them returned with sacred objects and rituals which enriched the religious life of their own people.

Around their own campfires at night they must have retold for the edification of their stay-at-home friends and relatives many beautiful legends they had heard from the lips of members of far-off tribes. Probably the common elements in the mythology of many Plains Indian tribes were the result of the repetition of tales or episodes learned and retold by such traveling storytellers. It would have been strange indeed if Blackfoot material culture and crafts were not also enriched by the detailed observations of keen-eyed and quick-witted Indian travelers who had opportunities to take mental notes on the daily lives of other tribes.

Nor was the lack of a common spoken language a serious barrier to communication of ideas between distant tribes. Through the sign language the Algonkian-speaking Blackfoot traveler could converse with Siouan-speaking Mandans and Hidatsas, with Salish-speaking Flatheads, or with such distant Algonkian tribes as the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, whose oral dialects differed markedly from that of the Blackfeet. The gestures of an

[16] Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866*, 302–303.

[17] Thompson, *Narrative*, 366.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

on thinly covered side hills rather than on the luxuriant stands of the valleys. They were concerned, however, that there be sufficient grass in the neighborhood of campsites to support their herds. They also recognized that horses preferred some grasses to others.

Present-day agricultural extension agents regard the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana as one of the finest livestock ranges in the United States. However, the old-time Blackfoot preferred the area eastward of the present reservation for fall and winter pasturage. The vicinity of the Sweetgrass Hills, described by Stanley (1855, p. 447) as the favorite fall pasturage for buffalo a century ago, was a section in which the grass remained green until late fall and in which clear lakes were plentiful. In the late decades of buffalo days a favorite wintering locality of the Piegan was the valley of the Marias River from the present Shelby–Great Falls Railway crossing eastward.

Elderly informants named several range plants common along the Marias which their people regarded as excellent fall and winter forage of horses. These are: "jointed water grass" (*Equisetum arvense*), the common horsetail; "weasel grass" (*Artemisia cana*), the silver sagebrush; "blue stick grass" (probably *Chrysothannus nauseosus*), the rabbit brush; "real grass" (buffalograss, *Buchloe dactyloides*); and "jingle grass" (unidentified).[14]

On the Marias River also was found a white clay streaked with yellow that "tasted like nuts." Horses were fond of it. Some people ate it also. In fall and winter the earth around alkali sinks was peeled off, broken up, and fed to animals. Indians believed it had the same beneficial effect as salt on livestock.

Throughout the greater part of the year Blackfoot horses kept in condition on no other feed than the wild range grasses. Captain Marcy (1859, pp. 111–112) observed that "for prairie service, horses which have been raised exclusively upon grass, and never have been fed on grain, or 'range horses,' as they are called in the West, are decidedly the best, and will perform more hard labor than those that have been stabled and groomed." The Blackfoot, in buffalo days, made no efforts to put up wild hay for winter feed. Their efforts to provide grass for their horses were limited largely to the expedient of selecting camping places where the best grasses could be found.

When the grass in the vicinity of a winter camp was consumed, it was necessary to move camp. Only the severest weather conditions which made the movements of horses impossible would prevent this change of location. Some bands, whose members owned large horse

[14] I am indebted to Claude Schaeffer, curator, Museum of the Plains Indian, for the collection of specimens of some of these plants, and to Ellsworth P. Killip, formerly of the Department of Botany, U. S. National Museum, for the identification of these specimens.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

231 herds, had to move camp several times in the course of each winter for
484 no other reason than to secure adequate pasturage. This did not necessarily entail movement of any great distance. A few miles, a short day's journey, might bring them to good pasturage.[15]

WINTER CARE

825 The Blackfoot regarded certain actions of wild birds and animals
821 as winter signs. If owls screamed at night, if geese flew high, if crows shifted their wings sideways in flight, or if the pelage of otter, mink,
[361] and beaver appeared heavier than usual, they knew a hard winter was approaching, and were careful to establish winter camps in the vicinity of extensive growths of cottonwood to gain protection from the cold and high winds and supplemental food for their horses.

231 In winter cautious owners no longer delegated care of their horses
[291] to adolescent boys. They cared for the animals themselves. In the coldest weather men donned buffalohide caps with ear flaps, buffalo robes or Hudson's Bay blanket coats, hair-lined mittens, and moccasins when leaving their lodges to tend the horses. Although they did not watch their horses all day in winter, owners watered the animals thrice daily as they did in summer. A winter camp near a spring
312 that did not freeze was a choice location. If a spring was not handy, men chopped waterholes in the river ice near their lodges. Each man who used the waterhole broke open any new-formed ice so the hole would not freeze solid.[16]

RUSTLING

231 When there was snow on the ground the Blackfoot did not hobble their horses. Their front feet were left free to paw away the snow to the dry grass below. At this practice, commonly known as "rustling," Indian ponies were remarkably adept. Unless the snow was too deep to prevent them from raising their legs (i. e. over ca. 2 feet) they generally could rustle enough food in this way to gain a meager subsistence. Denny (1939, p. 53), recalled that the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police, during their first winter in Alberta, employed Indian ponies which "were hardy, serviceable animals, and would find their own food under the snow by pawing in the coldest weather." Later experience of that efficient force proved to them that eastern,

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[711] [15] My Kiowa informants also recalled that their winter camps had to be moved when the neighboring grass supply became inadequate for their horses. Dunbar (1880, p. 332) reported Pawnee winter camp movements due to exhaustion of grass for horses. Undoubtedly, this factor conditioned winter movements of all the nomadic Plains Indians and those horticultural tribes who spent the winter season on prolonged hunting excursions away from their more permanent villages.

[711] [16] The Cree practice of placing alkali earth around waterholes to keep horses from straying was not mentioned by Blackfoot informants (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 196).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

in sizable herds, more frequent moves were necessary. Generally, the more successful the hunting, the fewer camp movements were required during the fall season. Although the fall hunting season may be considered as ending with the establishment of the winter camp, the Blackfoot continued to hunt buffalo and prepare meat for eating in the severe winter months during the months of November and December or until heavy snows and bitter cold restricted this activity. In the years prior to about 1850 they employed drives over cliffs or into pounds constructed in the vicinity of the winter camp in this early winter hunting.

This summary of the Blackfoot yearly round suggests that the Blackfoot were less "nomadic" than a literal interpretation of that word would imply. Blackfoot nomadism varied with the seasons and was conditioned by the food supply, the weather, and the Sun Dance ceremony. Some five months were spent in winter quarters. Nearly a month was required for assembly of the tribal encampment in early summer during which the bands that arrived early remained in one locality for several weeks (if the food supply permitted). Eight or ten days were spent in the Sun Dance encampment in late summer. The Blackfoot were most "nomadic" in spring, mid-summer, and fall.[68]

MOVEMENT OF A BLACKFOOT BAND CAMP

PREPARATION FOR MOVEMENT

Preparations for movement of a Blockfoot band camp were similar but on a smaller scale and less complicated than those undertaken for the movement of an entire tribe during the summer hunting season preceding the tribal Sun Dance. In the latter case the band chiefs met the night before the camp was to be moved and reached a decision as to the direction and destination of the next day's journey. The head chief called the leaders of four men's societies and delegated to each of them responsibilities for guarding the camp en route. Members of one society were told to scout ahead of the main body, those of a second society were instructed to guard it on the left, those of a third society were told to guard it on the right, and those of the fourth society were asked to remain in camp until all of the others had moved off and to bring up the rear as rear guards. The decision of the head chief, reached after consultation with the band chiefs, was announced to the people of the large camp by the chief's herald on the night before the

[68] Jenness' description of the Sarsi yearly round during "the early nineteenth century" divides the year into 5 seasons, although the rhythm of relatively active and passive nomadism appears very like that of the Blackfoot (Jenness, 1938, pp. 11–12).

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484 move was to be made so that everyone would be in readiness to make an early start the next morning.[69]

619 [203] In planning the movement of a Blackfoot band, the band chief consulted other prominent men of the band before announcing the move. He called upon certain individuals in the band to act as scouts, side, and rear guards.

484 791 Among the Blackfoot the medicine pipe owner played an important role in camp movement. In dismantling his lodge on the morning of the move he placed his bundle at some distance from it if the move was to be a long one; he left it standing on its tripod near the lodge if the move was to be a short one. He took pains to point his pipe in [782] the direction the camp was to go. Before he set out, the medicine pipe owner made a smudge and prayed for the safe journey of the camp, that no accident would befall any member and that no enemies would be encountered en route. The medicine pipe man led the main body when camp moved.[70]

PACKING UP

484 Experience made the Blackfoot efficient in packing their belongings quickly on the morning camp was to move. Except for the lodge and bedding most items were packed ready for transportation before the morning of the move. They needed only to be tied in their proper places on horses or travois. This greatly expedited last-minute preparations. J. M. Stanley (1855, p. 448), who accompanied Low Horn's Piegan village of 90 lodges on its move southward to Fort Benton in the fall of 1853, wrote that "in less than an hour the whole camp was under way".[71]

[462] [590] [595] As among other Plains Indian tribes Blackfoot packing of lodges and furnishings was women's work. In a household of several wives the husband's favorite wife served as job foreman, supervising the work of the other wives, the aged women, and grown girls of the

[171] [69] Larocque's description of movements of the entire Crow camp in the summer of 1805, reveals that Crow custom was similar to that described by living Blackfoot informants, at that early date. He observed that the principal chief consulted the other chiefs before deciding upon a move, then issued the order. That chief's lodge was the first to be taken down on the morning of the move (Larocque, 1910). Tixier (1940, p. 179) noted that heralds announced breaking of camp the night before the Osage hunting camp made a move during the summer of 1840. As early as 1776, the elder Henry (1809, p. 310) observed the Assiniboin chief's practice of notifying the camp of the next day's march in advance. My Kiowa informants stated that in that tribe the principal chief's decision was made known to tribal members through his announcer the night before camp movement, and that this chief led the procession when camp was under way.

[171] [70] Perhaps the Mandan and Hidatsa had a very similar custom. Alexander Henry (1897, vol. 1, p. 869), who accompanied these tribes on a visit to the Cheyenne in 1806, observed that Le Borgne's "grand pipe of ceremony" was carried at the head of the procession. Boller (1868, p. 277) noted that Poor Wolf "carried the pipe" and led the line of march when the Mandan-Hidatsa moved camp ca. 1860.

[171] [71] Denig (1953, p. 36) credited the Crow with being able to pack and start on the march in "less than 20 minutes."

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

household engaged in the task. Each family was responsible for its own belongings. Every article had its assigned place and means of transportation.

PACKING THE LODGE

The lodge was the bulkiest, heaviest, and most complex possession transported by the Blackfoot in moving camp. A century ago Denig (1930, p. 578) wrote that among the Upper Missouri tribes the size of the lodge was determined "by the number of persons to be accommodated or their means of transporting it." Two decades later Bradley (1923, p. 258) stated that Blackfoot lodge size varied according to the size "desired or the wealth of the occupants." Informants claimed the latter factor was of primary importance, for the larger the lodge the greater were the number of skins required for construction of its cover and the number, length, and basal thickness of the lodge poles necessary for its foundation. Consequently the larger the lodge, the greater the number of horses required to transport it.

Before the skin cover was replaced by the canvas one during the period 1870–85, Blackfoot lodges were sized according to the number of buffalo cowskins employed in the construction of the cover. The smallest lodge had 6 skins, the largest about 40 skins. Alexander Culbertson (in 1848) saw a lodge of 40 skins owned by the Blood chief, Seen-from-Afar, a wealthy owner of 100 horses and husband of 10 wives (Bradley, 1900, p. 258). None of my informants claimed to have seen a lodge larger than 30 skins. Weasel Tail said the average Blackfoot lodge numbered 12 to 14 skins, figures also cited by Wissler (1910, p. 100). A lodge of that size was 14 to 16 feet in diameter at the base and provided sleeping accommodations for a family of 8, with their baggage.

Informants said that skin lodges had less lodgepoles in proportion to their size than the more recent canvas lodges. Weasel Tail said 19 poles were used for support of a 14-skin lodge (4 main poles, 5 secondary ones on each side, 2 near the door, 1 at the center of the back, and 2 ear-support poles). Modern Blackfoot who set up canvas-covered lodges in their Sun Dance encampments take pride in the length of their lodgepoles. In many lodges the poles extend 4 or more feet above the crossing. They criticize shorter poles, saying they look "like a crop-eared horse." However, in buffalo days only the wealthy could afford the extravagance of poles much longer than were needed to support their covers.[72]

Wealthy families among the Blackfoot made new lodges every summer, before the Sun Dance encampment. Cowskins collected during

[72] Palliser (1863, p. 138) observed that Blackfoot lodges generally were larger and better furnished than those of the Cree, a tribe poor in horses. On the other hand, the horse-wealthy Crow tribe was renowned for having the finest lodges among the Upper Missouri tribes in buffalo days (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pp. 43–44; Lowie, 1922 a, pp. 222–223).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

over the saddle horn of a wife's saddle. Drums usually were wrapped in the bedding on the travois to prevent damage to them.

War bonnets and small medicine bundles were carried in cylindrical rawhide cases (p. 119 and fig. 23, *a*), over the rear horn of a woman's saddle by the wife of the owner.[82] Larger bundles, such as the natoas and beaver bundles were carried on the travois, led by the principal wife of the owner. The medicine pipe bundle, according to tradition, was carried in its special, fringed rawhide case over the back of the medicine pipe man. However, in my informant's youth it was carried on a separate horse led by the pipe owner, or even on the travois, on top of bedding, led by the owner's wife.

WEAPONS

Women carried knives in rawhide sheaths at their belts while moving camp. These were their only defensive weapons. Men, unencumbered by any baggage, carried their fighting weapons and ammunition, ready to meet any unexpected attack.[83]

CHILDREN

The elaborately decorated cradle was a luxury item among the Blackfoot in buffalo days. Women who were lucky enough to own them carried their infants in cradles hung from the front horns of their saddles. Most women carried their babies on their backs, wrapped in part of an old lodge cover and inside the mother's buffalo robe. Toddlers often rode on the travois. A family with several children might fold a large buffalo hide like a box, its sides held upright by parfleches, and place the children in the center. When tired of riding the children got off the travois and ran for a while. The willow sunshade also was employed on the travois to transport children and puppies. Boys and girls 5 years of age or older rode horseback alone, the less experienced riders tied in the saddle to prevent their falling. If a family owned few horses the children might ride double, or even triple on a single horse.[84]

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[82] Frank Bosin said the Kiowa used tubular rawhide cases for holding war bonnets only. They preferred rawhide cases of the rectangular type for other sacred objects.

[83] Denig (1953, p. 36) said the Crow wife carried her husband's medicine bag and shield, as well as his sword, if he owned one. Her husband carried his gun and accouterments. Grinnell (1923, vol. 1, p. 128) reported that Cheyenne men carried only their arms when camp was on the move. La Vérendrye (1927, p. 317) observed that when the horseless Assiniboin moved camp in 1738, the men carried "only their arms."

[84] All of these methods of transporting children were used by other tribes. Their practice of tying young children in the saddle or on a packhorse's load has been cited (p. 67). Miller in 1837, depicted a cradle hung to the saddle bow of a woman's horse. The watercolor is not tribally identified (Ross, 1951, pl. 9, and description on opposite page). Garrard (1927, p. 52) did not mention use of baby cradles by the Southern Cheyenne camp whose movement he witnessed in 1846. Rather he said mothers carried their infants on their backs, inside their robes. The travois (true or makeshift) was used for transporting children by the Eastern Apache (Abert, 1846, p. 10), Hidatsa-Mandan (Beller, 1868, p. 177), Iowa (Skinner, 1926, p. 280), Teton (Prince Paul fa Butscher, 1843, p. 209), Yankton (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 21, pp. 309–310), Southern Arapaho (Michelson, 1933, p. 897), and Southern Cheyenne (Garrard, 1927, p. 52).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

replace any of the active animals in case of their death, injury, or theft. A well-balanced herd would require 4 or 5 additional animals, which could be pressed into service to replace future losses, in order to give the family a sense of security.[87]

When we compare the number of horses informants thought the average family of 8 "should have" with the best estimates of the number of horses per lodge among the Blackfoot tribes in the mid-19th century (see p. 21), we find a noticeable discrepancy. In the year 1860 the person-horse ratio was nearer 1:1 rather than the 1:1½ an average family "should have had." Consequently the average family had to cut corners to get by with a smaller number of horses. This was done in a number of ways: (1) by overloading a smaller number of pack animals (2) by employing a smaller number of common riding horses (3) by making use of a single buffalo horse, and/or (4) utilizing dog travois to carry meat and light equipment. By employing a smaller number of transport and buffalo hunting horses the family restricted its possibilities of obtaining meat and of transporting food surpluses, something of special importance in the fall of the year in the period preceding the establishment of winter camp.

Informants indicated that a young married couple with a baby or no children could make out with as few as 5 horses: 1 common saddle horse and 1 buffalo runner for the husband, 2 pack horses to transport the cover, poles, and accessories of a small lodge, and 1 travois horse for the wife.[88]

However, a large family, comprising more than 5 adults and growing children "should have had" 15 to 20 or more horses.

My information indicates that in the average family all horses except buffalo runners were pressed into service when camp was moved. In the well-regulated household animals used for transporting the lodge and pack and travois horses were regularly assigned to those duties each time camp was moved.

MOVING CAMP ON THE PART OF A WEALTHY FAMILY

A wealthy family of average size owning 30, 50, or more horses encountered little difficulty in moving camp. The favorite wife directed packing of the household equipment. She generally rode a saddle horse carrying her husband's toilet articles, feather bonnet and/or other small medicine bundles over the horns of her fancy

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[87] Mishkin (1940, p. 20) estimated that a "well balanced herd of ideal size" for a Kiowa family of five adults would comprise 10 pack animals, 5 riding animals, and 2 to 5 buffalo horses. Differences between his figures and my Blackfoot estimates are apparent in transport, riding, and buffalo horse categories. Perhaps the relatively wealthy Kiowa thought 5 buffalo horses were desirable. It is doubtful if they were necessary.

[88] Elkin (1940, p. 208) regarded "four or five horses" as "the indispensible minimum for a man and wife; two for riding and the rest for packing," among the Northern Arapaho.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

saddle. His dress clothing was packed in her double saddlebag. Her horse was richly decorated with fine crupper and martingale. If the family possessed a large or important medicine bundle she transported it on a travois, leading the travois horse behind her. Each of the other wives had a travois which she rode or led behind her from a saddle horse. Packhorses were available to transport large quantities of meat and plant foods when moving to winter camp. Horses assigned to lodge transport duties needed not to be heavily loaded. Additional horses were available to relieve sick or injured horses of their duties.

The loose horses not needed for transport duty were driven by boys in the rear of the family group. Informants said the loose horses of a wealthy man sometimes were "spread out as wide as the town of Browning" when camp was on the move. If the owner had no boys of his own or had not adopted a young man to help him with his horses he would give boys of other families colts in return for their assistance in driving his horses when camp moved.[88]

MOVING CAMP ON THE PART OF A POOR FAMILY

Weasel Tail cited the case of a poor Blood Indian who owned but one horse. His lodge cover was the upper part of a rich man's discarded cover. His lodge was so small there was no room to hang a tripod and kettle inside it. When camp moved he and his wife walked. She led the horse with a travois attached to it, on which were packed the lodge cover and scanty family baggage. Their children rode on the back of the travois horse on top of other baggage. The small, short lodgepoles of the dwelling were dragged by dogs. The family owned no willow backrests, no dress clothing, and transported very little food. Informants indicated that this case was not unique.

However, most poor families tried to borrow horses from wealthy relatives, chiefs, or men ambitious of becoming leaders and interested in adding to the number of their supporters in return for favors granted. If the prospective borrower was known to be a lazy fellow, who remained in camp and would not join horse raids or attempt to better his condition through his own efforts, his request might be refused with some such comment as "Let him walk." The rebuke was intended to shock him out of his laziness. Those who were poor through misfortune rather than inertia (because their horses had been stolen by the enemy or lost through diseases or winter storms, or because of the death or injury of a hunter) generally could get a loan

[88] The Nez Percé (Haines, 1939, p. 288) and Southern Cheyenne (Garrard, 1967, p. 83) also drove the loose horses of each family in a separate band when camp moved.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

of horses for moving camp. Wealthy horse owners among the Piegan, such as Many Horses and Stingy, were well remembered for their generosity in loaning horses to the poor. According to a family tradition, Buffalo Back Fat, head chief of the Blood Indians, sometimes told those who had borrowed horses from him to keep them when they sought to return the animals.[80]

In the period of the serious mange epidemic among the Piegan (ca. 1881) the loss of horses was so great that camp movements were seriously handicapped. Short Face said that the chief and other wealthy men of his band then went ahead with some other families of the camp and, about noon, sent their horses back to transport the possessions of those left behind. In those difficult days dogs were extensively used for transport duties and many people walked.[81]

COMPARATIVE DATA ON THE POOR IN HORSES

The early literature contains several striking descriptions of the methods employed by the poor in horses among other tribes in moving camp.

Lewis and Clark wrote of the Lemhi Shoshoni in 1805:

> . . . were he [the husband] so poor as to possess only two horses, he would ride the best of them, and leave the other for his wives and children and their baggage; if he had too many wives or too much baggage for the horse, the wives would have no other alternative but to follow him on foot; they are not, however, often reduced to these extremities, for the stock of horses is very ample. [Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 558.]

Ferris described in greater detail the lot of the poor among the Rocky Mountain Indians in general in 1832:

> Those who are not so fortunate or wealthy as to possess the number of horses requisite, are obliged to walk or put enormous loads upon such as they may own. In one instance, in the year 1832, I saw a mare loaded with, first—two large bales containing meat, skins, etc., on opposite sides of the animal, attached securely to the saddle by strong cords; secondly—a lodge, with the necessary poles dragging on each side of her; thirdly—a kettle, axe, and sundry other articles of domestic economy; fourthly—a colt too young to bear the fatigue of travelling was lashed to one side; and finally—this enormous load was surmounted by a woman with three young children; making in all sufficient to have fully loaded three horses, in the ordinary manner. Though this rather exceeds anything of the kind I ever saw, yet large loads, in like manner surmounted by women and children, colts and puppies, are often observed on their moving jaunts. [Ferris, 1940, p. 299.]

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[80] Frank Bosin said the loaning of horses to the poor for use in moving camp was a common practice among wealthy Kiowa.

[81] In 1819 the Long expedition reported a similar procedure among the Omaha, a tribe relatively poor in horses. "They are sometimes so successful . . . in the accumulation of meat, as to be obliged to make double trips, returning after midday for half the whole quantity, which was left in the morning" (James, 1823, vol. 1, p. 212).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

FORMATIONS ON THE MARCH

John Mix Stanley (1855, pp. 448–449) observed that Low Horn's Piegan village of 90 lodges en route to Fort Benton in September 1853, was "drawn out in two parallel lines on the plains." The "chiefs and braves rode in front, flank and rear, ever ready for the chase or defense against the foe." Informants claimed the use of advance guards scouting for signs of game and the enemy, and of side and rear pickets was common in the movement of tribal and band camps among Blackfoot tribes in their youth. Scouts sometimes traveled as far as 3 miles ahead of the main body, and flanking and rear guards sometimes were nearly as far distant from it. Scouts ascended hills and rising ground the better to look out for game and foes. The main body was led by the medicine pipe man and the chief or chiefs with their families. Other camp members fell in behind them in family groups (including travois, pack animals, riding animals, and loose horses). Sometimes the main body moved in single file, at other times with two or more families abreast, depending to some extent on the character of the country traversed. Men not assigned to guard duty traveled with their families and assisted the women in retrieving any baggage that might become untied and fall to the ground. Not infrequently lodgepoles wore through their suspension holes and had to be retied.

However, Weasel Tail stated that the ideal formation was not always employed in band movements. Sometimes, when the band felt secure from enemy attack, the side pickets were eliminated. The history of Blackfoot warfare, however, suggests that it was at such times the enemy sometimes attacked with disastrous losses to the defenders. Brings-Down-the-Sun, the North Piegan chief, told McClintock (1910, p. 473 ff.) of a case when the camp was protected by front and rear guards only while passing through hilly country. The Crow Indians attacked on the unprotected flanks and killed or captured many Piegan. On another occasion the Crow suffered a serious defeat

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we return" (Margry, 1876–86, vol. 6, pp. 414, 425). Forsyth (in Blair, vol. 2, p. 236) said of the Sauk and Fox in 1827, "if any carrying is obliged to be done for want of horses, the women have to shoulder it." Omaha women (in 1819) loaded their horses and dogs, then took "as great a weight upon their own backs as they can conveniently transport." Among the horse-poor Omaha at that time "the greater portion of the young men and squaws were necessarily pedestrian" (James, 1823, vol. 1, p. 205). In 1834 Zenas Leonard visited a horseless "Bannock" village which journeyed to the Plains once a year to hunt buffalo, where they remained "until they jerk as much meat as their females can lug home on their backs" (Leonard, 1904, p. 148). Miller's watercolor of Pawnee Indians moving camp (1837) portrays a number of women carrying heavy loads on their backs, as well as loaded horses and dog travois (Ross, 1951, p. 66). The Pawnee, of course, were poor in horses.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

at the hands of the Blackfoot as a result of neglect of adequate scouting precautions (Denig, 1953, p. 48).[83]

THE NOON STOP FOR LUNCH

On days when camp was to move the Blackfoot usually were up at dawn, packed, and on the march before 8 o'clock. They breakfasted before getting underway. At noon the chief called a stop for a short rest and lunch. Lunch generally was not a cooked meal but consisted of prepared meat, pemmican, or dried plant foods carried in rawhide cases by the women, suspended from the horns of their saddles. If possible, the stop was made near water. Otherwise drinking water was carried along in paunch containers. The flanking guard parties carried their own lunches and stopped to eat, holding their repective positions in relation to the main body. However, it was customary for the leader of each guard group to ride in to the main body to consult with the chief during the noon stop.[84]

CROSSING STREAMS EN ROUTE

Blackfoot bands carried no bull boats or other watercraft for use in crossing rivers and deep streams while on the march. In the 1870's Bradley (1923, p. 257) described their method of crossing streams:

> . . . they made a kind of float from the skin covering of the lodges, upon or within which their effects were placed, men, women, and children swimming, the warriors towing the floats by a cord held in the mouth. Such horses as were fit for that service were also made to do duty in transporting their riders. By these means a village of 500 lodges would cross a considerable stream within an hour's time.

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[83] The guarding of a moving camp by advance scouts, side pickets, and rear guard seems to have antedated the acquisition of horses by the northern Plains tribes. La Vérendrye wrote of the formation employed by the horseless Assiniboin with whom he journeyed to the Mandan villages in 1738, "The marching order of the Assiniboin villagers, especially when they are numerous, is in three columns, the scouts in front, the wings (extending back) to a good rearguard; the old and disabled march in the main body which is in the middle" (La Vérendrye, 1927, p. 317). The elder Henry's description of an Assiniboin movement in 1776, involving a camp of about 200 lodges and over 500 dog travois, however, makes no mention of side pickets (Henry, 1809, p. 309). Larocque's earliest description of the Crow (1805) mentioned their employment of advance scouts and rear guard, but no side pickets. Possibly the use of flanking pickets became more necessary after the introduction of horses increased the mobility of potential attackers. In earlier times, when enemies of necessity approached more slowly on foot, there may have been less need for flank protection. Nevertheless, flankers were employed to protect large camps on the move, even in La Vérendrye's time.

In the 19th century, use of side, advance, and rear guards was common to both nomadic and horticultural Plains tribes as well as to the Plateau peoples when moving camp on buffalo-hunting expeditions. The younger Henry (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, pp. 389, 393) noted that the Hidatsa-Mandan employed this formation en route to and returning from their visit to the Cheyenne in the summer of 1806. This formation has also been reported as characteristic of the Crow (Marquis, 1928, p. 144), Pawnee (Dunbar, 1880, p. 328), Osage (Tixier, 1940, p. 166), Kiowa (Battey, 1875, pp. 185–186), and Flathead (Turney-High, 1937, p. 117).

[84] Larocque's excellent description of Crow camp movement in 1805, points out that the Crow usually made a midday stop for lunch (Larocque, 1910).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Informants added details to this description by stating that the lodge covers were rolled up at the sides, baggage and children placed in them, and the women swam along behind pushing the covers while men towed them from in front by ropes. The lodgepoles were placed under the travois and bound to them to form crude rafts on which backrests and other luggage were transported over the water. Horses towed these improvised rafts. Crossing a wide river, such as the Missouri, provided the Indians a noisy time. Horses whinnied, dogs yelped, people shouted. When the camp safely reached the other side its members generally stopped for the day to dry their clothes and gear and to feast. In the absence of any contemporary drawing of Blackfoot methods of stream crossing I have reproduced Sohon's original sketch of Flathead Indians traversing a stream as plate 10.[95] The Flathead method was essentially the same as that employed by the Blackfoot.[96]

The problem of management of horses in water must have confronted the Indians soon after they acquired their first horses. Hendry (1907, p. 351) observed that the "Archithinue" of the Saskatchewan Plains were adept in the employment of horses in "swimming broad and deep rivers," in 1755. Yet Weasel Tail stated that in his youth a man was careful to choose a horse known to behave well in water, if he attempted to ride across a stream. Otherwise he preferred to swim or to let his horse tow him across by holding on to the animal's tail. Kane (1925, p. 76) observed this method of river crossing employed by Blackfoot in 1848.[96]

STOPS EN ROUTE BECAUSE OF RAIN

If the moving camp was overtaken by a hard, sudden rainstorm en route, they sought shelter in brush if any was near, built makeshift shelters of a few bent willow branches in the generalized sweat-lodge pattern, covered them with buffalo robes, and remained inside until the storm moved on. If, however, the rain continued through the day they would be forced to set up their lodges at or near that place.

ARRIVAL AT NIGHT CAMP

Usually the site for the night's camp was determined in advance by the band chief on the basis of its known distance from the previous

[95] Father Mengarini (1938, pp. 16–17), and Major Owen (1927, vol. 1, p. 37) described Flathead methods of crossing streams as employed in the mid-19th century. Mandelbaum (1940, p. 196) found that Plains Cree horses were trained to pull "rafts" tied to their tails, but he did not describe the rafts. Lowie (1922 a, p. 219) said the Crow made rafts of parallel tipi poles, spread hides over them, and placed the cargo on top.

[96] In 1806 the younger Henry (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, p. 331) observed Mandan young men swimming horses across the Missouri. "They fastened a line to the horse's mouth, the end of which one of them took in his teeth, and swam ahead, whilst others swam on each side and in the rear, driving the animal very expeditiously."

[See category 171, p. 358-I--Analyst]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

day's camp, and availability of wood, water, and wild grass. When the chief reached this locality he selected a spot for his lodge or lodges. His women folk began unpacking and setting up his lodge.[97] Other families pitched their lodges around his, being careful not to scatter too widely because of the danger of attack. Lodges in a band camp were not aligned in a circle, but were placed within a distance of about 10 to 12 feet of one another in an otherwise unplanned cluster.

The medicine pipe man placed his bundle on its tripod behind his lodge. The men smoked and conversed as the women unpacked, set up the lodges and prepared the evening meal. Boys who cared for the horses were given their instructions by family heads. If there were signs of the enemy a horse corral was built for their protection at night. Generally the day's march ended in the middle or late afternoon so that there was ample time before dark to erect the lodges and make preparations for the night.

MAKING CAMP WITHOUT WOOD OR WATER

Sometimes it was known in advance that night camp would have to be made without wood or water. If no wood was available dried buffalo chips were substituted for firewood. Buck brush or dried grass were employed to start the chips burning.

If a dry camp was anticipated water was carried along in buffalo paunches, about the necks of which willow sticks were woven to keep the vessels round. Each vessel was closed at the top by tie strings or by a fitted rawhide cover. These vessels were transported tied to the outer ends of travois platforms where the primary struts crossed the shafts (fig. 26, *b*). Each family carried four or more paunches, depending upon its size and the number of dogs and horses owned.[98] Horses and dogs were watered by pouring the liquid into basin-shaped troughs of rawhide. In the spring of the year large ponds of water, formed from melting snows, appeared in depressions in the Blackfoot country, affording a ready supply of water in localities normally dry through the summer and fall months. Little difficulty was experienced in obtaining water in spring.

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[97] Larocque's (1910, p. 61) description of Crow movements states that the principal chief "pitches his tent the first, all the others encamp about him." Frank Boas said this was also Kiowa practice.

[98] Use of buffalo-paunch containers for carrying water on the march was common among the Plains Indians. In 1820, the Kiowa Apache were seen carrying water in buffalo paunches of 6 to 8 gallons capacity, closed at the tops by sticks passed through their margins. In camp the paunches were suspended from tripods of light poles (James, 1823, vol. 2, pp. 103, 108). The Hidatsa carried water for dogs in wood-skewered buffalo paunches, on dog travois (Wilson, 1924, p. 225, fig. 58). A Kiowa buffalo-paunch water vessel is on exhibition in the Southern Plains Indian Museum, Anadarko, Okla. Specimens from the Gros Ventres and Mandan are on exhibition in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. A drawing by a Southern Cheyenne artist, showing a paunch vessel tied to a travois for transport in the manner employed by the Blackfoot is reproduced on plate 6, *b*. This drawing (U. S. N. M. No. 166,083) was collected by H. R. Voth in 1889.

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DISTANCES TRAVELED PER DAY

Many factors determined the distance of the day's march. Weather conditions, the terrain traversed (whether hilly or relatively level, and the number and sizes of watercourses to be crossed), availability of game, relative fear of enemies in the neighborhood, as well as the Indians' relative desire for hurry, all influenced the speed of movement and distance covered. Informants said that on some days band camps made no more than 5 miles, stopping for the day at noon. A normal day's march was about 10 to 15 miles. Yet in the spring of the year, when the Indians were eager to leave their winter camps on the Marias to obtain fresh buffalo meat, they made as far as the Sweetgrass Hills in a day, a distance of at least 18 miles. Mrs. Cree Medicine recalled that her band, in a hurry to obtain rations at Old Agency, traveled from the site of the earlier Agency north of Choteau to Old Agency on Badger Creek in 1 day and about 6 hours. The country traversed is hilly and crossed by several small streams. Yet they made this journey of nearly 50 miles in less than 2 days. If a band believed there was danger from the enemy they traveled rapidly, continued after dark, and made 25 or more miles a day.[29]

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[29] Although Turney-High (1937, p. 116) reported that the Flathead traveled 30 miles a day, average estimates for the Crow (Denig, 1953, p. 36), Nez Percé (Haines, 1939, p. 68), and Kiowa (informants) were given as 10 to 15 miles in a day's travel. Dunbar (1880, pp. 328–329) estimated the daily marches of the Pawnee on their buffalo hunts at "from eight to twenty miles," explaining that in winter they did not begin their march as early as in warmer weather, when they set out at dawn, or sooner. They ended the day's march between noon and nightfall "as circumstances dictated." By comparison it is noteworthy that Coronado, in his final march to Quivera with 30 picked men, averaged 10 miles per day (Bolton, 1949, p. 286). White muleteers on the old Santa Fe Trail considered a *jornada* (day's march) about 12 to 15 miles (Inman, 1899, p. 57).

The most valuable comparative description of camp movements by a nomadic Plains Indian tribe is contained in Laroque's journal of his 2½ months' travels with the Crow from the Hidatsa villages on the Missouri, via the eastern base of the Big Horns, to their medicine lodge site on the Yellowstone near present Billings, Mont., June to September, 1805. In 76 days camp was moved 47 times (roughly 2 of every 3 days). The greatest daily distance recorded was 24 miles, the smallest 3 miles. The median distance traversed on days camp moved was 9½ miles. On most travel days the Crow started early in the morning and traveled until afternoon, stopping at noon for lunch. Night camps were made beside streams, and most of the days' travels were along or between watercourses. With one or two exceptions the Crow did not move camp during rain. On several days rain either delayed the start or caused an early stop. Delays of a day or more on route were caused by inclement weather (rain), serious illness in camp, stops to hunt (although parties of men frequently hunted at a distance while the main body moved), to dry meat, to tan hides after a hunt, and to dry tongues for the medicine lodge; to rest in security while scouts reconnoitered ahead fearing the presence of enemies; to cut ash whips; and to settle a disagreement among leaders as to the route to be followed. Another day's stop was made to rest the horses as soon as they reached a locality offering good pasture after 3 days' march across barren country. Laroque's journal probably affords a better understanding of the day-to-day rhythm of camp movement and the factors conditioning this movement than any other known document on the nomadic tribes of the Plains (Laroque, 1910).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

THE PACK

Each Blackfoot warrior carried a pack containing: (1) extra moccasins, an awl, and sinew for moccasin repair; (2) one or two rawhide ropes, each about 20 feet or longer, with a honda in one end, for use in catching, riding, and leading enemy horses; (3) a small pipe and tobacco; and (4) the man's personal war medicine. Some men also carried whips in their packs. Scouts carried wolfskins in their packs or wore them over their other clothing. The contents of the pack were wrapped in the top of an old lodge cover, a large piece of rawhide, or a trade blanket, rolled like a blanket roll, tied with rawhide rope and carried on the owner's back by a rawhide strap over his upper arms and chest. (See fig. 27.) Pieces of rawhide wrapping could be cut off for use in moccasin repair as the need arose.[20]

FOOD

Blackfoot raiders generally carried their food in separate containers rather than in the pack. Many men favored a rectangular, unfringed, rawhide case, carried by a strap over one shoulder or on top of the main pack on the back. Dried meat and pemmican were the favored foods.[21]

THE OUTWARD JOURNEY

W. T. Hamilton (1905, p. 52) writing of the Blackfoot of the period ca. 1842, said they "almost always went to war on foot." Informants said that in their young manhood there were both foot and mounted horse-raiding expeditions. They acknowledged that it was easier for men to conceal themselves from the enemy when afoot than when mounted. However, in the last decade of horse raiding the

[20] Horse-raiding parties of other tribes carried their equipment in similar packs. Catlin's painting of a foot war party of an unidentified Upper Missouri tribe (U. S. N. M. No. 386852) shows each member carrying a pack on his back. In the summer of 1833, Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 204) met an Assiniboin war party at Fort Union, the members of which carried "small bundles" on their backs containing meat, moccasins, and tobacco. Mead (1908, p. 166) described the equipment of Pawnee horse raiders of the period ca. 1860: "They went lightly armed, each had a very serviceable bow and quiver of arrows and a knife, a few carried a light gun. Each Indian carried tucked under his belt, from four to six extra pairs of new moccasins and one or more lariats; a pack weighing twenty pounds or more containing dried meat, both fat and lean; some pieces and straps of tanned skins to repair their moccasins and clothing and useful for bridles. The above mentioned articles, with a pipe and tobacco, an occasional light squaw axe, and a few trifles, comprised all that was necessary for a thousand mile journey." Informants stated that Blackfoot raiders not infrequently carried extra moccasins tucked under the belt rather than in the pack. Some Blackfoot men carried 1 or 2 pairs of moccasins under the belt or sewn to the shirt at the back of the shoulders in addition to those in the pack, as a precautionary measure in case their pack might become lost in a surprise attack by the enemy en route.

[21] Catlin's portrait of Red Thunder, son of a Hidatsa chief, "in the costume of a warrior" depicts a rawhide case like that used by Blackfoot horse raiders hanging at his side from a strap over his shoulder (U. S. N. M. No. 386172).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

mounted party gained in popularity, especially in expeditions directed against the Crow. The mounted party could travel much faster and could more easily evade white authorities who at that time were seeking to put an end to intertribal horse raiding. It required 16 to 28 days' travel afoot from the vicinity of the Piegan Old Agency on Badger Creek to the Crow camps south of the Yellowstone; whereas a mounted party could make the journey in 8 to 12 days. Weasel Tail said, "Usually on the eighth day our scouts saw the Crow camp. On the ninth day we took their horses." While foot war parties averaged about 25 miles a day in good weather, mounted parties traveled more than twice that distance in the same time.[32]

In the initial stages of the outward journey, when danger of encountering the enemy was at a minimum, raiding parties usually traveled by day, moving at a steady pace, in no particular order, and stopping occasionally to rest and smoke. But as they neared the enemy country they moved more cautiously, traveling at night and hiding out during the daylight hours. A party nearing enemy country halted to kill game for food enough to subsist them for the remainder of their journey. They built one or more war lodges in a heavily timbered bottom or on a thickly wooded height. The war lodge usually had a framework of fallen or cut timbers covered with brush or bark, set in a conical form with an angular covered entranceway. (See Ewers, 1944 a, pp. 183–186 and plate.) It served a fivefold purpose, as a protection against the enemy (concealing the fire from view and serving as a fort in case of surprise attack), as protection from the weather (especially in winter or rainy weather), as a base for scouting operations, as a supply base, and as an information center to which members of homeward-bound parties could return and leave pictographic messages to others of their party telling of their actions and movements (ibid., pp. 189–190).[33]

From the war lodge the leader sent ahead a small number of picked men as scouts to locate the enemy camp. Wearing wolfskins, they moved cautiously, fearful of encountering enemy war or hunting parties. From high ground they surveyed the surrounding territory, concealed by their wolfskins, before advancing. They were suspicious of any sudden movements of game, and they examined burned-

[32] Lieutenant Carleton (1943, p. 276) reported that Teton Dakota parties customarily went on foot against the Crow and Blackfoot in 1845. Denig (1930, p. 545) claimed it was usual for horse raiders of all the Upper Missouri tribes to leave camp afoot in the period ante-1854. This was the common practice among the Cheyenne (Grinnell, 1923, vol. 2, p. 7), Pawnee (Dunbar, 1880, p. 335), and Jicarilla Apache (Opler, 1936, p. 210). However, the Comanche even as early as 1820, appear to have preferred mounted raids for horses (Barnet, 1851, p. 236). Alice Marriott has informed me that Kiowa parties frequently rode in quest of enemy horses, but if the group was composed largely of poor young men seeking to obtain animals to start their own herds, they walked.

[33] War lodges also were constructed by Plains Cree, Crow, Teton, Gros Ventres, Assiniboin, and Cheyenne horse raiders (ibid., p. 190).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

families, when given in the literature, does not exceed 6 to 12. The necessity for feeding dogs (which were meat eaters like their masters) must have placed practical limits upon the number of dogs owned in pre-horse days. Difficulties of managing dogs on the move must have been other factors limiting their numbers as burden bearers. Informants frequently mentioned the penchant of travois dogs for chasing rabbits or female dogs, for fighting among themselves, and for running into streams to drink while in harness. To prevent dog fights travois had to be spaced some distance apart while on the move. To supplement the services of the dogs, women of the camps had to carry heavy burdens on their backs. I have pointed out the survival of this custom among horse-poor tribes in historic times (pp. 142–143). Dog transport was wholly inadequate for conveying the aged, sick, or infirm adults. Informants estimated that a train of heavily loaded dogs would travel no more than 5 or 6 miles a day.

Limited transport facilities inevitably restricted the weight of baggage that could be carried by the pre-horse nomads, and thus limited their possessions. In 1599, Onate observed that the lodge covers of the southern Plains Indians met by his expedition were transported by medium-sized dogs and weighed less than "two arrobas" (50 pounds) (Bolton, 1916, p. 227). Unless the buffalo-cow-skins of which those covers were made were dressed thinner, and therefore were lighter in weight than the buffaloskins used for lodge covers in later years, the covers seen by Onate must have comprised no more than six or seven skins. Six or seven skin lodges are attributed to the Blackfoot of the Pedestrian Culture Period in tribal traditions. Larger covers could have been used if they were made in two pieces, each transported on the back or travois of a single dog. But the necessity for dragging the lodgepoles, which increased in length and weight with the size of the lodge, must have encouraged the use of small lodges in the years before horses were available for pole dragging services.

One aged Blackfoot informant had heard a tradition to the effect that some of his pre-horse ancestors did not use a tipi at all but stretched buffaloskins over upended dog travois to form a shelter. The use of such a shelter would have eliminated the necessity of transporting tipi poles when camp moved. Grinnell (1923, vol. 1, p. 50) reported Cheyenne traditions of their former use of this type of shelter. Wilson (1924, pp. 223–224, figs. 51–55) described and pictured this type of structure as employed by Hidatsa in the third quarter of the 19th century when suitable tipi poles were not available. It provided sleeping quarters for as many as 11 people. Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 16) actually saw horse-poor Assiniboin

where their children or grandchildren are enrolled. An additional factor is a desire to overcome logistics problems such as the hardships of transportation, obtaining water and fuel for residences and access to service facilities. For instance, many elders lament the fact that they must leave their isolated homesites, where most of them were raised and to which they are so attached. Yet these elders, most of whom depend on welfare or lease incomes, can no longer manage a distant residence mainly because of logistics and lack of private vehicles. Thirty-two per cent of the rural inhabitants own no personal vehicles and elders are heavily represented among non-owners.

If this trend continues one can expect Browning and Heart Butte proper (in that order) to become more and more crowded and the outlying rural areas less populated. There are fewer and fewer enticements for living in the distant rural areas. In the past the lure of employment in Browning and off-reservation towns was not as strong as at present. Small ranching operations, although largely unprofitable, were sufficient to offer some hope and rewards, but these inducements have dropped out of the economic realm for the most part. Movements, especially among the young, are to locations where there is some promise of securing wage-earning jobs. But the trend is not nearly so marked as it is at Augusta because young Augustans can find a place in the larger society, feel at home in their new settings, can often attend college, find secure employment for the most part, and need not fear racial antagonism.

Despite the several motives given below for family relocation,

Explanation of the Data Selected

106 Education is given in years of attendance. This is little more
121 than an index of exposure to white education, as individual differences
177 in receptivity, attendance, achievement, motivation, learning, and
184 differences among schools attended, are not revealed by such an index.
[871] Some additional information was obtained from school records and will
[127] be used where applicable.

F.F.A., 4-H, or Equivalent records participation in youth
[575] organizations as an index of exposure to another area of training in the values and techniques of the dominant culture.

[484] Military Service and Travel are considered to be indicative of
[701] a wider contact and experience with other than reservation people, and of increased exposure to elements of white culture.

[464] Type of Work reflects, among other things, a state of training and experience posed against the available employment on the reservation, and it is some measure of economic achievement. A man categorized as working at "irreg. wage labor" is one who works sporadically during the periods when work is available. Other men, who are generally steadily employed during the work season are classified "seasonal labor." One man is rated as "reg. farm labor," because he lived with his employer and worked throughout the year at whatever required doing. Other categorizations are relatively clear, with the exception of "promoter," which is used to cover a multiple source of income. The men so labeled may have income from investments, elective office, land promotion projects, oil speculation or several other sources.

[434] Average Income records the subjects' estimate of their annual earning capacity and is but a rough index of subsistence. The figure

177 spectators to be entertained. The Indian visitors, who understood
184 the dancing and participated at least vicariously, were the more
535 orderly, appreciative and appreciated audience. The point is that
the dancing at the encampment was a social and recreational outlet.

[484] During the summer and fall people who owned dancing costumes left the reservation to participate in similar Indian gatherings held throughout the plains area. Indian-oriented members of the sample and their families were often reported absent on such visits.

In the late fall, winter, and early spring a series of social dances, often coinciding with national holidays, were held at the community halls in surrounding neighborhoods. People from other parts of the reservation were invited or were free to attend. Often people came from neighboring reservations as well.

These dances, at the Heart Butte, Starr School, or Little Badger community houses, were usually sponsored by one of the men's societies. Scheduled for an early evening start, it was usually around nine o'clock before the dancing began. The Grass and Fancy dancers were in costume and Grass, War, and other dances by those in costume were mixed with Owl dances--round dances for men and women partners--in which
[431] all could participate whether in costume or not. Here, as in the Indian Days program, time was taken for give-aways--at least one was put on by the sponsoring society to honor guests, and others were put on by individuals for varying reasons. At midnight the wives, sisters and daughters of the sponsoring society members served a lunch to all in attendance, then dancing was resumed to continue until dawn.

The attendance and participation confirmed the reports of the sample members; those categorized as Indian-oriented were present, while

will appear in the historical sections of this report. 000

The Factor of Environment: It is no accident that the history of Indian occupancy of the valley of the Saskatchewan River and of the valley of the Missouri River should be inseparably linked. If one will but look at an accurate, modern physiographic map of the Missouri-Saskatchewan Region, such as Dr. Erwin Raisz' map in W. W. Atwood's Physiographic Provinces of North America (Atwood, 1940), he will recognize that the 49th parallel which now separates Montana from Alberta and Saskatchewan is a man-made boundary. In terms of physiographic characteristics this is one great region with no natural barriers to the movement of people from north to south or south to north. Neither mountains, nor rivers nor lakes separate that portion of the region lying north of the 49th parallel from the portion to the south of it. On the contrary we may note that one of the larger rivers of this region, Milk River, has its source in Montana, flows northward into Alberta and turns southward into Montana where it empties into the Missouri. B G 133

Throughout the greater part of their known history the majority of the tribes of The Blackfoot Nation were as much or more at home in the valley of the Saskatchewan and its tributaries as they were in the valley of the Missouri and its affluents. B G 131

Rivers were not important to these Indians for travel. They did not use boats or canoes. They traveled overland. But B G 484 501 000

[p.31]

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Although production is carefully tended by the agent and the white staff, other aspects of the economy are not so closely under thumb. Exchange is controlled in the conversion of wheat and cattle into cash, but there is some merchandise passing in and out of the reserve as barter with neighbouring Indians and white settlers which escapes agency supervision. Moreover, through management of the Indians' cash accounts the agency partly determines the amount of cash that an Indian may have; yet the manner of spending lies to a great extent beyond the agent's control. Thus only in part is this an agency-controlled system. In general we shall see a white system of production welded onto a system of distribution in itself a modification of the original indigenous system.

The Annual Round

In buffalo days, the first thunder of spring was joyfully anticipated by all as the time when the owners of Medicine Pipes opened the sacred bundles, sang the songs of the thunder bird, and distributed tobacco to all the camp. These ceremonies continue today, but only the older people look forward to them with eagerness. The younger ones are eager for a different reason. In April now annuities from the Blackfoot trust fund are paid. The children are released from school for the day. The Indians who have waited for months flock to towns nearby to buy clothing, groceries, and household articles. Quite a number, seeking variety and better bargains, board the train to Calgary where in small groups they stroll through the stores of the business district or rest on the wooden benches of Chinese restaurants.

A few days later all are back on the reserve, and the spring enterprises begin. Every Indian team of horses and every tractor from the farm instructors' sheds is busy with ploughing and seeding. The frame houses near the cultivated fields bulge with relatives who have come to help. Calves are driven from their winter corrals to join the main herd started on its way to summer pasture lands.

Meanwhile the old people have convened to a secluded site for the Tobacco Dance, and are singing the opening songs of the Beaver Bundles. On a gala day about a week later Indians from all over the reserve come to watch gleefully, while, for instance, the man with buffalo-hoof rattle dances clownishly around the circle. A few listen

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all night to the songs of the sacred tobacco, which is planted in the first light of dawn.

With fertility ensured for the coming year by these ancient ceremonies, all return to work. The old want money to buy a gift blanket for the Sun Dance late in June. The young are more interested in a projected trip to the Calgary Stampede in July. Consequently, the agency staff, the stock-men, and the farm instructors are besieged with offers to paint houses, mend the roads, and repair culverts. Certainly, weeds must be ploughed under by the farmers for their summer fallow. The winter calves must be branded, the males castrated, the dry cows segregated, and the entire herd placed on display for cattle buyers.

In June, as the men finish these tasks, painted tipis are inspected, and strange wagons roll up dust clouds along the roads. Bloods from Cardston, Piegans from Brockett, and Crees from Hobbema arrive to watch the Blackfoot Sun Dance. On a quiet flat by the river the traditional circle camp is formed; the preliminary society dances begin. The old people are the chief participants, for the young, desirous of having money to spend and attentive to their crops, are still too busy at their jobs. Besides, young persons feel quite ill at ease in these ceremonies. They do not know the procedure, so fear to make spectacles of themselves with some crude blunder. With school teachings still fairly fresh in their minds, they are confused by the conflicting pronouncements from the mission schools and the awesome Blackfoot elders. Consequently, they prefer to watch outside the Sun Dance Lodge while their fathers dance within. On the last day of the camp the children, released for the summer from the boarding-schools, spend a restless night in the strangeness of a tipi or tent.

On that last day five dollars is paid out to each person by the Canadian government, in accordance with the terms of the Blackfoot Treaty. Forthwith, most of the Indians disappear from the reserve. By train, automobile, and wagon a large, gay group takes the highway westward to the Stampede grounds at Calgary. For one hot week, as their older brothers ride bucking horses, the schoolboys, cheeks sticky with sweets, wander the Midway wide-eyed at the spectacle of Al Capone's armoured car or the living woman without a head. Their parents, with the girls and little ones close at hand, visit friends from other reservations, show off their handwork to

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tourists, and occasionally carouse. The more conservative Indians eschew the Stampede. Forming a caravan of wagons "like old times," they proceed slowly to the Blood reserve. They pitch their tents on the gentle slope before Belly Butte to witness and rejoice in the Sun Dance of the Blood Indians.

By the end of July most have returned to the reserve. Food boxes empty and money gone, they must again turn to earning a living. Clusters of tents where a man and his brothers have joined to mow the prairie grass and haul it to the stock farm for feeding the calves in the coming winter are pitched for two or three weeks across the highlands of the reserve. It is hard but not unpleasant work. Saturday is pay-day. Immediately a hand game starts in one of the tents; night and day the whole week-end the drum-throb resounds with brief intermission across the range. On Sundays a big crowd from all over the reserve convenes for horse-races on a great plain where the men bet down to their last quarter on the bay or sorrel.

In the meantime others are busy stacking the bundles of rye and oats behind the mowers, happy in their luck to have the crop cut before it was destroyed by a sudden hail-storm. By September when the children have returned to the schools, the wheat is ready to harvest. Farmers eagerly await the threshing machine, so their crops may be finished early. Others are charged with moving the main herd of cattle to the winter feeding ground, while a lowing mass of calves is prodded into the corrals for wintering.

With farm work done, a tide of workers flows to the coal-mines. Some bring their families and move for the whole winter into the village of shacks that lies on the flat before the mine shaft. Others leave their families behind and don the miner's cap for a few weeks only. In full production scores of loads weigh in each week and are driven off to town. After work on Saturdays some people go to the movies in town, though many remain, crowding thirty or forty strong into one of the houses for a Deer Dance or a hand game.

By the time the first flurries of snow blow in from the west, the old people are settled in one of the clusters of log houses along the river. There, with rations, occasional money from the slaughter of a beef, and near to wood and water, they pass the winter with congenial friends who listen again to stories of a war party to the Crows. Certain younger man, hankering after a pool game in town, a bottle

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still more. Tracks, cars, mechanical conveniences were bought second-hand. Each year improvements were made, and the former farm instructor was changed to a mining instructor with salary paid from the gross returns of the mines. Today on the reserve there is only one individually operated, primitive-type mine that still functions.

Around the chute from the main mine is a grove of trees that runs to the river banks. In this grove cabins have been built to house the Indians that flock there each fall as work begins. In accordance with the Mining Act, showers with running water were built at trust expense. A laundry, and somewhat later a church, were built. Now an active community of about fifty families lives near the mine during the production season. In 1941 there was a boarding-house with a Blackfoot woman as cook for bachelors who could eat at $3 plus rations per week. Another man made it his business to call at the rather distant ration house every week to get the busy miners' meat; he charged 25 cents for his service. A man with a car ran a taxi service the nine miles to Cluny; he charged 35 cents for a trip to town. Throughout the week the men work an average of eight hours a day, but if more coal is needed, they may work overtime into the night. On week-ends people come from the surrounding parts of the reserve to visit or to attend the hand game or Deer Dance.

The mine operates on a self-sustaining basis, all costs coming from its gross revenue. It produces about 10,000 tons of coal annually and derives a gross income from it of about $25,000, coal selling from $2.00 to $3.50 per ton. Of the total revenue about 50 per cent goes for wages to the miners, the rest for operation and maintenance.

The system of operation is an adaptation from the days of individually operated mines; the mining instructor makes a contract with a man at $1.60 per ton for all coal which he produces from a given room. This Indian thus becomes foreman of the room in question, hires his own men, furnishes a certain part of the equipment, and divides the amount made with his workers at the end of the week. There are eight rooms operating under contract, and at maximum output eighty men are employed.

Operation and maintenance include paying the wages of the mine instructor ($1,500), a clerk ($300), and three men hired at 30 cents per hour to do sundry jobs other than the extraction of coal. The

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a labourer or even an onlooker on an agency-managed grain-, cattle-, and coal-producing establishment. From a politically independent people the tribe has been reduced to a form of peonage.

A second factor has been the failure of the original farming venture, the success of which meant the difference between mere existence and an ample income. When the Indians originally adopted farming, it was regarded as a means for becoming wealthy. In the Blackfoot mind there is a definite association of wealth with power, for as we indicated, the chiefs in the past were necessarily wealthy persons. Through farming the prediction of Many Stars at the time of the treaty would be realized: "All will be chiefs." This was true in good years, when Indians could invite friends and relatives to their well-furnished homes for ostentatious give-aways. They could make trips to neighbouring reserves, there to continue the display of generosity. Best of all, they might invest in a sacred bundle as a further token of concrete achievement and as supernatural insurance against the vagaries of weather and fortune. This had always been the Blackfoot way of indicating change of status, as conditioned by years of experience with a plentiful buffalo supply and the risks of warfare that might reduce one's wealth to nothing overnight. If any followed the agency's counsel to save, a succession of poor or indifferent crops quickly consumed the backlog, and there was nothing to show for the effort.

These two factors, the assumption of economic and political management and the failure of reserve enterprises to produce a return commensurate with Indian expectations, have produced frustration of the needs for political and economic self-expression. Since the council of chiefs is an impotent body and since the last vestiges of political control were removed with the scattering of the Blackfoot onto familial farms, a political void has been created. In good times this arrangement produces no consequences, for there is opportunity for self-expression in a gratifying Blackfoot social life. Participation, however, is reduced by lean years. There results a system of devices which can only produce satisfaction in the rare times of abundance.

The question arises why in their dissatisfaction the Indians blame the agency. The system would run much more smoothly if Blackfoot themselves assumed the blame for failure and, as the white employees propose, work harder. It is necessary to realize first that the agency is regarded as the seat of the chief, and chiefs

575 which had been gathered by members of the Pigeon Society. The Motokiks
343 Society (a woman's society) constructed its lodge with twelve willows.
824 Medicine Pipes had fourteen. The used frame of a sweat lodge was left on the prairie (Fig. 10).

[184] In winter some persons built sweat lodges on a circular ground-frame.
[484] We were told of a man named Stumic-so-suc (Buffalo Bull's Fat) who built such a lodge and transported it with him, intact, whenever camp was moved.

[796] Another function of the sweat lodge was to seal the ceremonial bundles at the close of the Sun Dance.

575 Annual ceremonies of the Motokiks and Kaispa Societies used the pitch of
824 willow galls for incense. It was also used during the transfer ceremonies
[796] of the Yellow-buffalo and Black-buffalo tipi designs, the Hairlock robe, various tipi doors and numerous personal amulets.

SAGE

Artemisia ludoviciana Nutt.

824 Three kinds of sage were recognized by the Blackfoot, but only one was used in religious ritual. Artemisia ludoviciana (Fig. 11), known as man sage, is common throughout the prairie and foothills and may be gathered at any time during the summer months. It was fresh when used in the sweat lodges.

796 Participants in the sweat-lodge ceremonies wiped the sweat from their
824 bodies with this sage. Sage was used to cleanse the headdresses of the Horn Society before they were transferred to new owners. In that transferral the headdress was laid on a bed of man sage. The singers of the All Smoking ceremony cleansed themselves with it. When ceremonial moccasins were put away they were packed with man sage.

The Holy Offering of the All Smoking ceremony and of certain Horn
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 26]

proposals for camping sites and routes of travel, and selected two or three of the societies to undertake the various duties for that season. While these were nominally under the control of the chiefs their duties were so well known that they generally acted on their own initiative. The leaders of the chosen societies pitched their tipis in a group in the centre of the camp circle. The members patrolled the camp in turn during the night. They punished recalcitrant offenders against public welfare by beating and destruction of property. Some went ahead when a march began to select the precise site of the next camp, while others superintended the column of march. The societies were also mainly responsible for knowing the position and movements of the buffalo herds and for organizing the tribal hunts. In any emergency the chiefs could call upon one or more of them to deal with the situation. They could not, however, act until they were called upon to do so. The changing membership, coupled with the rivalry of one with another and the short season of their activity, averted any tendency to the permanent seizure of power by one or all of these societies.

The summer camp was the occasion for great ceremonial activity. A host of feasts and ceremonies followed the short period of intensive hunting, in which large stores of food were accumulated. With appropriate ritual and after due payment of hide robes and horses, 'medicine bundles' of magical objects and the formulas necessary for their effective use were often transferred from one man to another. The societies performed their special dances and rituals, and if the time for purchase and transfer of society membership was due, great triple tipis were built in which the lengthy ceremonies of exchange were held. Finally came the great annual ceremony of the Sun Dance at which individuals and the tribe as a whole sought power and well-being in a protracted ritual that lasted a week or more. The camp circle broke up shortly after this and the bands moved away in the direction of their winter quarters, which mostly lay farther to the west in the rougher foothill country. With the disintegration of the camp there ended also any real authority of the tribal leaders and councils.

Hides and Skins

The buffalo which so dominated the activities of the Blackfoot supplied them with more than meat. Almost every part of the animal was used. The hide was dressed with the hair left on to provide heavy winter robes; thinned and with the hair removed, it was the material for shirts, leggings, moccasins, tent covers, bags and receptacles of every kind. Cut into strips it furnished ropes and lines. The hair was used to stuff pillows and later saddles, and to decorate garments, shields and quivers.

19: Forde E-4 (no date) 1952 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

abundant meat-supply after a successful hunt, there was opportunity to devise means for storing large quantities. After a hunt the store of meat was cut into thin strips and dried in the sun on wooden frames. When dry the meat was slightly roasted, pounded to a mince, mixed with fat and then packed and sealed with a covering of tallow in large bags or parfleches that in later times often contained a hundred pounds each and consumed the meat of two buffaloes. This is the pemmican so well known from the accounts of early explorers and traders. The finest pemmican was made from the choicest cuts pounded and mixed with marrow fat and dried berries. Large stone-lined pits were built near the winter camp in which these food-supplies could be stored, secure from the attacks of carnivores and rodents.

While meat was the main food of the Blackfoot and other Plains tribes, wild roots and berries were not neglected, and a considerable variety was gathered by the women during the year. The various harvests often controlled the precise location of the camp. In the spring a valuable root, known as *pomme blanche* to white trappers, was obtained in large quantities with digging sticks. In the country nearest the Rockies the camas bulb, a food staple among the northern Plateau peoples, was obtained in summer. Several kinds of berry and the wild choke-cherry were harvested in the autumn. The surplus was in each case dried and stored or mixed in the pemmican.

Tobacco

Although the Blackfoot depended entirely on natural products for their food they did, like many other Plains tribes and other hunting peoples, cultivate one plant—tobacco. A plot of ground near the winter camp was cleared and the soil raked over early each spring and the tobacco seeds planted ceremonially by a party of men. The plot was visited occasionally by one or two men during the summer, who had to make long journeys for the purpose and bring back samples of the growing plant. The crop was gathered when the camp returned to winter quarters in the autumn. This tobacco smoked in pipes of soft and easily worked stone played a very important part in Blackfoot and all Plains ceremonial. Although the plant was very hardy and grew with so little care, it had to be sown afresh each year to maintain the supply. The significance of tobacco planting among the Blackfoot and other western peoples in North America is considered later (see p. 255).

Transport

The migration of the individual camp groups and of the tribes as a whole involved frequent transport of the entire household. The dwellings and utensils of the Blackfoot were mostly of a light and portable character, but, although they

were few compared with those of a sedentary people, the tipi with its contents formed a large load. The advent of the horse made possible a considerable increase in the weight of the household property that could be transported and tipis became larger and more luxurious. But even in pre-horse days the Indians of the Plains had devised means for transporting a considerable quantity of material. Although heavy burdens were carried on the back, a great deal was transported by the dogs, of which every woman kept two or three or more. Small burdens could be carried in bags slung across their backs, but they could drag a much greater weight than they could carry, and for this purpose the Plains peoples used a drag-frame known as the *travois*—two splayed poles two or three yards

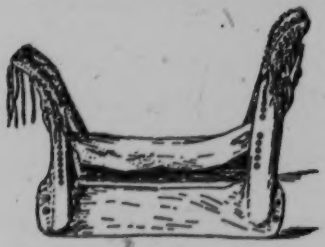

FIG. 22. A BLACKFOOT SADDLE
LENGTH, 34 CM.
(*After Wissler*)

long lashed together—which was harnessed on the shoulders of the dog, and carried a netted hoop or platform of slats attached to the two poles behind the animal. When the horse was introduced the same device was enlarged to carry much heavier loads. This drag-frame was well suited to the relatively smooth and open country in which the Plains people lived. They had no sleds or toboggans, and the travois appears to be an indigenous development which remained limited to their own culture area. It is probable that it originated with the poles of the tipi itself, and it was frequently improvised from tipi poles in later days, but the Blackfoot also made well-finished travois which could not be taken apart for use as poles.

With the introduction of the horse, saddles and trappings were made. The heavier wooden saddles used mostly by women followed closely the design of Spanish saddles, of which they were translations into wood and rawhide, the wooden frame being held rigid by a cover of rawhide, which was shrunk on to it. For the chase men used light pad saddles of soft hide stuffed with hair.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

584 I was very proud that I was getting married. I should have been educated first, but I obeyed my father to get married so that someone would look after me. He was getting ill then.

584 My mother sewed moccasins for me to get married in. When winter came, it was on Christmas; they got me my horse and 484 they tied a travois on him. I had my bedding and I had two parfleches; one was full of moccasins and one was full of dried meat. Those that are called pillows (backrests) were loaded, too, and some blankets were put on top. I rode on one horse and there were two more horses with many blankets tied on them; they were all presents from my folks. I don't remember everything about it, because I was small. I don't know how many more horses were sent later; my husband traded some of them off for cows.

[292] I wore a buckskin dress. My leggings were beaded, and I wore a fancy blanket with a safety pin in front. My shawl was a fancy woolen blanket. We arrived at the old place where we used to get our rations. An interpreter lived there. His name was Young Scabby Bull, a black-white man [the Negro Dave Mills]. My mother told me to stay in there for a while, so that she could go and get rations. This was ration day.

So I sat there. Then a woman came in and kissed me and said we were going. I was hoping to see my mother, but I never saw her again that day. She took me out and put me on the horse with the travois. So we started off again. The woman led the two other horses. She was on horseback, too.

We came to a house. It was the house of my deceased brother, Bull Shields. A man lived there by the name of Bull Head. He had two wives. One of them was named Shaggy. They both jumped out and took me down. I must have looked funny. A woman by the name of Annie started to laugh at me. She was John Cotton's wife. I must have looked really funny. It was in the winter and I had on my buckskin dress, and my shawl was a small fancy blanket.

They fed us and then we started off again, on and on. Fi-

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

nally I couldn't see my homeland, which was beyond the ration house. We came to a place that is called Willows-in-the-Water. As we came into the open, there was a house with a sod roof. We went in and they took my belongings. At one side there was a wooden bed, an old bed of the past, carved fancy. It was the bed of the one I was going to marry!

My blankets were all brought in. The boy had a sister. I asked her: "Have you got any toys?" She brought out a small rawhide container full with her toys. She sorted them out and she gave me some. Then she gave me the rawhide container to put my toys in.

I got very lonesome after I was there for three days. There was a lump in my throat. I wasn't thinking of my mother. I was thinking of my father, because I loved him most. A person asked me: "What is the matter with you?" I told her: "My necklaces are too tight, that is why I am crying." So she tied them looser. She knew that I was lonesome and longing for my parents. She said: "Both of you will go down, you will go to see your mother." I was anxious to go, so we went.

When we came to the top of the ridge I saw my home down in the valley. I was really happy. I didn't even greet my mother. I jumped on my father and was hugging him. I was so glad to see him. We slept there, and in the morning we started coming westward.

After two years, the mother of the one that I married went up west. . . . Her son-in-law was Crop-Eared Wolf, the head chief, and that is where she moved to. Then I had to prove myself. I started cooking right then. I was nine years old when she went up west and the other mother of my husband's—his real mother's sister—she was very mean to me. I used to carry two big buckets of water. Now what kind of fingers I have for all the work I did? That is why I am not mean to my daughters-in-law, because this woman was very mean to me. She never fed me any bread. Before I went to sleep I used to steal some bread and I went to bed with it and ate it.

854 Me and my youngest son, Iniskim. One of my older cousins did the floral beadwork and I put the cradleboard together.

114 115 *Below,* Me and my old ladies at Browning, Montana, ready to go inside for George and Molly Kicking Woman's annual Medicine Pipe Ceremony. From left is Paula Weasel Head (Ponah); her sister, Annie Red Crow; Rainy Woman (Mrs. Striped Wolf); her sister, Stealing-Different-Things-Woman (Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door). Together we drove over two hundred miles that day just to attend this ceremony and get back home. Those old women kept me laughing all the way, with their funny stories and songs. Incidentally, the term old woman, or old lady, is a proper one to use among my grandmothers. (PHOTOS: ADOLF HUNGRY WOLF)

[484] [796]

142 291 302

[p.100]

TABLE 1

SELECTED DATA FROM THE SOCIOCULTURAL FIELD SCHEDULE

Case No.	Age	Degree Indian			Marital Status	Children	Education	FFA 4-H Equiv.	Military Service	Travel	Type of Work	
		Self	Father	Mother								
2	28	9/16	5/8	1/2	S		12	X	X	Occ.	family ranch	
3	26	5/8	5/8	5/8	M	4	8				seasonal labor	
5	20	7/16	3/8	1/2	S		12	X		Little	regular labor	
6	32	1/16	Wh.	1/8	Div.	2	10		X	Occ.	seasonal labor	
7	29	1/16	Wh.	1/8	S		14+	X		Occ.	ranch, seas. lab.	
9	29	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	4	9	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor	
10	44	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	8	8		X		irreg. wage labor	
11	30	5/8	1/2	3/4	M	5	10	X	X		seasonal labor	
13	52	1/4	Wh.	1/2	M	5	8		X	Occ.	irreg. wage labor	
14	25	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	1	7	X			irreg. wage labor	
17	34	1/2-	1/2	7/16	M	9	6	X	X		regular labor	
18	43	15/16	4/4	7/8	Div.	1	9	X	X	Some	irreg. wage labor	
19	43	1/4	Wh.	1/2	M	2	15	X	X	Cons.	promoter	
21	41	1/16	1/8	Wh.	M	7	8	X	X	Occ.	ranching	
25	74	3/8	1/4	1/2	M	7	4			Occ.	ranching	
26	23	7/8	4/4	3/4	S		10	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor	
27	40	3/4	1/2	4/4	M	4	8				irreg. wage labor	
28	22	35/64	5/8	15/32	M	2	10	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor	
29	52	1/2	1/2	1/2	S		6			Occ.	irreg. wage labor	
30	44	1/8	Wh.	1/4	M	2	12		X	Cons.	promoter	
31	24	2/16	1/8	1/2	M	1	9	X		Occ.	ranching	
32	58	3/4	1/2	4/4	M	7	6				disab. pension	
34	24	1/2	1/2	1/2	M	1	12	X		Little	irreg. clerical	
35	57	1/4	1/2	Wh.	M	4	4			Cons.	rancher	
37	23	13/16	3/4	7/8	S		7			Occ.	irreg. wage labor	
38	27	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	7	10			Cons.	trade	
39	21	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	2	9	X			irreg. wage labor	
42	64	1/2	Wh.	4/4	M	6	8			Occ.	regular labor	
45	39	1/4	1/2	Wh.	M	4	6			Occ.	trade, ranching	
46	45	1/4	1/4	1/4	S		10		X	Cons.	regular labor	
47	62	4/4	4/4	4/4	Sep.	3	8		X	Ext.	irreg. wage labor	

[71] [75] [70] [84] [84] 184 117 121 106

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

My Grandmother's Camp

by Ruth Little Bear

511 THE WAY I remember my grandmother, she camped very simply in her tipi. She hardly used any fancy accessories, like a tent or a stove or chairs. She did her cooking over an open fire while she knelt on the ground nearby. She fed her guests on the floor and that's where she herself ate. But I must say that she was a very clean and efficient housekeeper.

484 When they got ready to move from their log house to the Sun Dance camp, my grandparents took the box off the running gear of their wagon, which is about like taking the body off the frame and wheels of a car. Then they put the tipi poles on the running gear, between the wheels, and draped their tipi cover over the top of the pile. My grandmother did most of the work, but my grandfather helped her. She would have the tipi cover opened out, and then she would pile it with the rest of her belongings before folding it shut, part way. Then she would put on her willow backrests and the tripods that held them up inside the tipi. She had four of them, a pair for herself and a pair for my grandfather. Then she put in her tipi linings. She had an old-fashioned trunk in which she kept their dance outfits and their religious things. She put it on the

484 tipi cover, and alongside it she put her parfleches—those rawhide suitcases that held food and clothes and other supplies. Then she'd cover all that with her bedding, which consisted of a mattress, some blankets, and some hides. When she had all that on, she would wrap the tipi cover around it and tie it all down real well to the running gear.

[850] I used to go along to the Sun Dance with my grandparents so that I could run errands for them. My brother used to stay home to watch the horses for my father. When we got to the Sun Dance grounds my grandmother was the one who laid out 342 everything for our camp. She put all her belongings in neat piles on the ground. Then she laid out her tipi poles. She had the four main poles already marked, where they had to be tied. She tied them up first and got the men to lift them up. They used a long rawhide rope to pull on. Then she instructed them on putting up the rest of the poles for the tipi framework, until they were all set up. These came to about twenty-eight or thirty poles. The main pole is the one you tie the tipi cover to, and she would instruct them to lift that into the place last. To close up the front she used skewers of sticks six to eight inches long. We call these buttons. They buttoned the tipi down to the door. She would call over some boy to climb up for the top buttons. They always had a ladder with them to get up on.

When the cover was set up my grandmother would go inside and start spreading the poles outward so that the cover got tight and the tipi was set in place. Then she'd bring out her sack of picket pins and she'd go around the tipi, throwing one at each place where there was a loop at the bottom of the tipi. Then she'd get down on her knees and with her little hatchet she'd stake down the tipi by putting the pickets through the [854] loops and pounding the picket points into the ground. There were two more poles that she put through the tips of her tipi's ears. With them she controlled the draft of the smoke from her inside fire.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

used commercial oil paints on this tipi, because the old-time earth paints of my ancestors are scarce and hard to find, especially certain colors, such as yellow. Around the bottom of the tipi we painted a wide black band with rounded projections, which symbolized the hills near the streams that otters live in. For this and the night sky we could have used charcoal mixed with grease and warm water, but we kept the painting uniform by using oils throughout. At the time we didn't know that this would make the cover twice as heavy as the original canvas. However, it also made this one of the warmest and most waterproof tipis around.

Before my new tipi was ready for camping I had to sew the lining curtains that hang from the poles around the inside. I had no idea how important this job would be. As a result I just sewed together two long rectangles of canvas from what was left over after I made the tipi cover. Ponah and Mokakin loaned us an old one of these liners with pictographic drawings of war stories, so I figured we were all set.

By the way, you may be wondering why I say "my tipi." One of our ancestral traditions is that the tipi and its household contents belong to the woman. If she splits up with her husband, he is left out in the cold, though he usually goes to stay with relatives or friends. The tipi design is transferred to the husband and wife together, but the cover that it's painted on still belongs to her.

Getting the tipi poles to camp is usually the biggest problem of the whole move. Those who are lucky enough to have a good wagon that can be pulled by a vehicle find themselves imposed on a lot. Mokakin has such a wagon, and I've known it to pull six or seven sets of tipi poles to camp over a few days' time. Most poles are at least thirty feet long, and there are generally about twenty poles to a set, so that becomes quite an awkward and heavy load. Still, a number of people manage to tie their pole sets to the tops of their half-ton trucks and get them to camp—generally by the reserve's back

roads, to avoid the frowning policemen on the highway. Sometimes the vehicles used for moving to camp are so overloaded that they barely come limping into camp, especially if they contain all the camping gear, the family and its kids, and a couple of neighbors-on-foot thrown in, besides.

Mokakin and my father helped us to set up our tipi that first time we used it. Usually several men from the same part of the camp circle pitch in to get each other's lodges set up. Nowadays the women seldom even supervise anymore, much less do they put up the lodges like they used to. I always hear the men arguing over how each step should be done, and I am told that the operation went much more smoothly back when the women did it.

That first tipi set up very nicely, as most of the ones my mother makes do. But as soon as I started my work on the inside I discovered something that I had done wrong. In sewing my linings as rectangles I didn't take into account that the tipi is narrower toward the top than at the bottom. Since the linings hang like an inside skirt, mine were kind of stretched in odd shapes up to the main cord, tied from pole to pole, to which they were attached. Also, the linings were not long enough to go all the way around the tipi's inside. Toward the door we had only the tipi poles and the outside cover, which was like being in a house and having only the wall studs and the outside covering, without insulation or inside walls. My grandmothers kept their homes very simple, so that you can't really take away anything at all and still have an efficient unit. We had some very cold drafts coming into our tipi during our first camping experience in it.

It took two pickup truck loads to haul all our gear to the Sun Dance camp. My mother laughed about it and told me how easily and practically her grandmother always packed. In the years since then I have realized that it takes time to learn how to do these things right, even if they are part of a supposedly simple life-style. That is one of the challenges

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Back to Our Own Encampment

574 [484] 533 [352] 123 [342] The Old Man ended his visit with us before supper. Because he did not like to travel after dark, he always insisted on being brought home before Sun sets. When darkness came he liked to sit at the edge of his iron-frame bed and sing songs of the Old Ways—they were holy songs, of which he knew many. The first time I had met him, that was what he had been doing in his little white one-room frame house. I had gone to him in search of inspiration and guidance, which he had given me. Here is how we began our deep spiritual relationship:

ON FIRST MEETING OUR OLD MAN

123 As SikskiAki and I drove over the dirt road toward the Old Man's house, we could see a light burning through a window. Behind the house we could see the silhouettes of sweat lodge frames—reminders of holy experiences from his past.

We knocked, and a voice from within bid us enter. A blast of warm air rushed past us as we came in from the cold. Immediately, I felt the presence of holy Powers; a feeling of weakness

the new Horns came to see me already. They all want new pipes. Could you help me make them?" 276 575

Each member of the Horns Society must have his own smoking pipe. It should be of our traditional style, with a black stone bowl. There are very few such pipes left among our People. Most of them have been buried with their owners or sold to collectors and museums. [764] [432]

Atsitsina went on: "Used to be lots of men here that could make pipes, but not any more. My dad made lots of pipes. All the time he worked on one or two, when he wasn't busy doctoring or leading ceremonies. He used to get a good horse for just one pipe. I think he was the last one that made pipes in the really old way [using the elements of hot and cold to chip the stone into shape]. I never learned how to do it that way. Only way I can make them is with a hacksaw and a file and a hand drill." 324 276 [178] [435] [412]

I saw evidence of Atsitsina's skill and popularity as a pipemaker when he and I were visiting the Provincial Museum in Edmonton. Eric [484]

[p.107-A]

Our head chief at the end of the Buffalo Days was Red Crow. Before him our head chief was Red Crow's uncle, Pinukwiim, or "Seen-From-Afar." He was so named because he often traveled great distances to visit people of other tribes. There is a story that he led a party of men as far south as Mexico, a journey that took about a year. Pinukwiim brought back the Different-People Pipe from one of his visits to the Mandan People, who lived far to the east in the area of present-day North Dakota.

778
175
484

Pinukwiim and his wife boarded a keel-boat belonging to the American Fur Company for part of their trip east. They left Fort McKenzie in present-day northern Montana, in the spring of 1833, after the ice broke up in the Missouri River. The company was shipping its winter trade of hides and furs and was eager to have the trade of the Blackfoot divisions, in whose country Fort McKenzie was located. It was to the company's advantage to have an influential man like Pinukwiim riding one of their boats. [439]

They passed through the dangerous country of the Assiniboine tribe in order to reach the fur company's Fort Union at the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Our people and the Assiniboines are traditional enemies, but a brief peace had been brought about by the fur company before Pinukwiim's journey. [648]

At Fort Union, Pinukwiim and his wife met a party of Mandan People, who invited them to their earth lodge village. They were treated with honor and respect during their stay. The Mandans gave them each a Powerful holy Bundle when they prepared to return home. His wife was given a sacred buffalo headdress from a Mandan women's society. This headdress was later taken into our own Motokiks Society. Pinukwiim was given the sacred Pipe we now call the Different-People Pipe in memory of the Mandans and their earth lodges. [648] [177] [575]

The return trip took thirty-four days. The German explorer Prince Maximilian noted in his journal that he saw the Blood couple in a Hidatsa

earth lodge village earlier in the summer, and that "the man was well made and both were very neatly dressed." 778 175 484●

About twenty years later Pinukwiim again visited the Mandans. By then he was head chief of the Bloods. A trader recorded in his journal that he was "splendidly dressed (in) a magnificent bonnet of war-eagle feathers falling to his feet." He must have been a most courageous man to wander in such style through the country of his enemies. [292]

After Pinukwiim, the earliest Owner we can recall is Old Spear Chief. He transferred the Pipe to old Long-Time Squirrel and his son, Many Grey Horses. From them the Pipe went to Steel, then to Weasel Moccasin, and then to old Plume. Long-Time Squirrel took the Pipe for a second time, before it went to Mark Old Shoes in 1950. He transferred the Pipe to Jim White Man Left, who then transferred it to the Old Man's later partner and roommate, Big Nose. At the Sun Dance Camp the Bundle was ceremonially stolen from Big Nose's lodge while no one was there. It was transferred to the children of Many Grey Horses, who still own it. 793 778 [425]

THE CREE MEDICINE PIPE

Another of our remaining Medicine Pipe Bundles is known as *Assinai-Achkuineman*, or "Cree Medicine Pipe." The sacred Pipe in that Bundle was captured from a camp of Cree People during a battle. That battle took place sometime around 1880 and was one of the last fought between the Crees and our People. This is the way it happened: 778 721

After a Cree raid on Blood camps, One Spotted Horse led a war party of Bloods and Piegans in retaliation. He is remembered today by the name One Spot.

Some distance east of the present-day city of Edmonton, the war party located a small Cree camp and attacked in broad daylight, overpower- 778 726

[p.157-B]

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

have carefully traced the disposition of all the missing society Bundles, locating ten of them, and, as of this writing, are negotiating for their return to the society. 575 186

For some time before last summer's Horns membership transfer ceremony, families of the new members went around the camp circle, one at a time, displaying their payments for the membership. Old People walked ahead of each procession, calling out the name of the new member and singing words of praise for him. Mokakin was the most popular man in camp for this duty, and before long his voice was so hoarse and broken he could barely be heard. Among the processions he led was one for Ponah's nephew, Cyril Red Crow. To help him with his payments, his sister and her husband, Stabs Down, paid the quarter horse we had given to them some time earlier when we took our Medicine Pipe. Most of the horses shown as payments were covered with fine blankets, while those who led them wore buckskin suits and eagle feather headdresses. All these goods were to be given as payments. 575 432 [424] [887] [292]

The transfer ceremony was held inside a fenced circular enclosure. Spectators crowded outside to see functions similar to those described by Wilson. Within the enclosure was a large crowd of old members, new members, and former members, all with their wives. The former members served as advisors to both old and new members. A couple of the retiring members were South Piegans who had come up for the occasion from Montana. 575 432 796 [484]

When the new members had made their rounds outside the camp circle, they were preceded by their leaders, one on a black horse and one on a white, just as Wilson observed. The dance leader wore the ancient headdress with a feather stuck in the front to represent the arrow once shot into the forehead of a long-ago, similarly headdressed dance leader. The original arrow remained lodged in its place while the wearer of the headdress led his party of Bloods to a victory against the enemy. This battle and victory are re- [292] [541]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

The Close of the Encampment; Returning to Our Homes

A few days after our encampment's social dance, the Horns Society finished its annual public ceremonies, and the gathering was officially over. Most of us had been there for two weeks or more, and for some of us there were cattle and horses at home to care for. Others had hay and grain crops to cut; it was close to the end of August, and time to harvest the fields.

Cattle raising is the most common source of income for ambitious members of our reserve today. Many families have fine cattle herds that are increased by bulls loaned from the tribe-owned herd. However, few of our People still harvest their own fields. Instead, they lease them out to white ranchers who pay a share of the profits. The government encouraged this system, believing that white ranchers could make more "profit" from the land than our People could. Indian

Although I feel that everything has a Spirit, and that Spirits are everlasting, I have never particularly believed in "ghosts." I mention them because during my walk home I had an experience that seemed to involve them. This story explains why some of our People don't like to travel at night, especially alone. 123 [484]

For some time, as I walked along, I had the strange feeling I was being followed by something I could not see. I was walking near the edge of the prairie where it drops off to the Bullhorn River below. Suddenly I came to a deep gully that began out on the prairie and opened up into the river bottom. Rather than hike way around it I decided to go straight across, by going down it and then climbing back up. I started to trot downhill when I heard the sound of heavy breathing behind me. My heart grew large in my chest as I came to a quick halt and turned my head to look behind me. I heard one more heavy breath, which sounded as though it had come from something also trying to stop quickly. At that instant there was a thumping sound from behind me, and then a piece of cow dung rolled by and came to rest not far from where I had stopped. I strained my eyes until I was convinced that no person or animal was behind me, and then began singing some of my sacred songs to keep myself company while I continued homeward. The next day I learned from one of the Old People that near this place were several old open graves, and that few people walk past them at night because encounters with ghosts usually result. [775]

There are numerous open graves around the reserve. Most of them are pretty well scattered from the effects of nature. Open graves were usually made by placing a filled coffin or homemade box under a cutbank or next to some large rocks and boulders. Less often, the coffin was covered with a pile of rocks, or placed inside a specially built little cabin. Bodies were usually placed in open graves during epidemics, or by family members who did not believe in burial underground 764 766 [177]

der. Often, when the buffalo ran close together, he shot two with one arrow. . . . 224 411

HEAD CHIEF RED CROW

The most famous chief in our recorded history is Red Crow, who was head chief at the end of the Old Days and the beginning of reserve life. Among our People today his name symbolizes the glory of the past. Red Crow was a brave leader when enemy war parties still threatened our People, but was also a peace advocate when his People were asked to join in the native uprising known as the Riel Rebellion, and when his People were angered by the white settlers and their government. Red Crow certainly helped make it a fact that the Blood (and Blackfoot) People never fought the intruding government with arms. 622 [648]

Like many leaders faced with trials of such dramatic changes as loss of the buffalo and restriction to a reserve of land, Red Crow did not perform his duties in a manner that pleased everyone. Some of our Old People today still talk with bitterness about some of his doings, such as his sale of choice ranchland on the west side of the reserve for fifty cents an acre. He also gave a group of Mormons a ninety-nine-year land lease that includes the present site of Cardston, Alberta. Red Crow later said that he understood the agreement only to be a rental arrangement. The interpreter, a Cree half-breed, admitted years later that the Mormons had paid him well to misinterpret the documents to which Red Crow put his mark. Red Crow trusted his Mormon friends because they treated him well and often filled his buggy with groceries when he went to visit them. 622 156 [423] [657] [435] [427] [609]

As head chief, Red Crow had the final say in most matters pertaining to the Bloods. Yet he was not known as an orator and preferred to let his subchiefs speak for him. When he went east in 1885 to meet with government officials in Ottawa, he was accompanied by One Spot, then assistant head chief. These two Bloods were part of a 622 648 [484]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 238-C]
[P. 236-B]

caped to the friendly bushes, with only a bullet hole in his robe. That shot alarmed the Crow village and they all arose in an instant. I was at that time in another part of the camp quietly looking for some horse to lead out, but upon hearing the shot, I left as fast as I could run. Away out on the hills I came across three others of our party who had taken many horses. We then started for home; our other companions had scattered from the Crow camp and gone home by other routes. 726 159

Upon our Northward way we four met a war party of Crows, chased and fought them to no purpose in a running contest in which no one was hurt. We arrived home without other adventures and found our missing friends there before us.

My next trip was in the fall of my second year of raids. I led a party of four myself. Our object was as usual to take horses from the Crows. We went to the Bears River and followed it down to the Missouri. There I had a dream that at a place I knew well, the "big hill," there was a large herd of horses. When I awoke and told my friends we set out to find them. In going towards the "Big Butte" we discovered a large camp of the Crows. I went in alone and took a gray mare. After that, we all went up into some pine timber on a hill and made our little brush camp. Three nights we laid low, then I visited the Crows again and brought back a black stallion and a pinto. Four more nights we remained in our camp, then all of us went into the Crows camp, but we captured only two horses. Now having horses for all of our party, we left for the Big Butte and we ascended to look about. From there I saw the big herd of horses exactly as I had dreamed. We descended and went in the direction of the horses, but to reach them it was necessary to cross the frozen river. While carrying dirt, making a path for our horses to walk on the ice, a large party of Blackfeet came along and joined our party. A few of them on foot crossed the river without any trouble and went ahead and stole a great number of horses from the big herd we were after. When [197] [484]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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We used to play a game with bows and arrows; we put mud balls on the points. We had mock wars. People from the opposite ends of the reserve would shoot at each other with the mud-tipped arrows and the winners would keep all the arrows. We played a hoop game and in the spring when the geese came back, all the women and the men played ball games. Kids used to go out on the prairie and play. We would snare gophers, then take them home and cook them and eat them. They were not too bad. [957] [224] [262]

I was a very good dancer. Everyone used to watch me. I was always the first one out on the dance floor when I was young. . . . I always danced at the stampede and exhibitions they had in Fort MacLeod and in Lethbridge and several times I danced at the Calgary Stampede, once on the back of a flat trailer. 536 541

The most important place I ever danced at was in Banff, when Long-Faced Crow [Wilson] took us up there to entertain some officials. Fifty-five of us went up there by train. We took along several painted lodges to sleep in. They drove us out to the buffalo paddock in cars and I remember some of the Old Men, like Natosina, talking about how they would like to have a bow and arrow and go in there for just one more buffalo. They really liked seeing buffalo again. We had ten tipis set up; most of the men brought their wives along. 535 541 177 484

When we got ready to dance for all the white people in Banff, Wilson told me not to wear any clothes, just to wear my breechcloth and to dance with my hoops. My moccasins were fully beaded with white background and I had paint all over my body. There were several people taking pictures of me, some of them with those big cameras that they put their heads inside of. I never saw any of the pictures. The other Bloods that were along illustrated all kinds of things from the Old Days. They had mock battles and horse raids and they put up tipis. Natosina even led a Nighttime ceremony for them inside the big 535 541 177

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Joe Young Pine, around 1915. He cut his braids shortly before going to Australia. To his right stands Ernest Brave Rock, brother of Mrs. Wadsworth. Seated before them is the wife of Joe's older brother, Black Sleeps. (Joe Young Pine Collection)

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493

worry about somebody taking off in my car and wrecking it. That used to happen a lot. [164]

I used to race chuckwagons at all the rodeos and stampedes. In 1939 I was one of the fellows that was sent to Australia from this reserve. We [273] [541]

[p. 339-A]

484
177

were gone for three months. It's pretty tough when you are so far away from home and you get homesick. I used to just get into my wagon and drive around and try to pretend that I was back at home, here. But that was kind of hard. We never saw any kangaroos when I went for a ride in my wagon here, but we sure did there. We raced chuckwagons and horses while we were down there; we showed their cowboys how we do it here. 484 177

A lot of Old People prayed for me before I left. They were pretty worried about us going so far and across so much water. We went from Vancouver by boat, it took us twenty-six days. [782]

Joe's wife joined the Horns Society once, with her first husband, and recently she joined again with Joe. He is the oldest member of the society. His wife said, "Don't ask him if he's ever had a vision. He was too scared to go out by himself to do that; he just chased the girls, instead." 156 [575] [787]

MRS. ANNIE WADSWORTH

Eighty-two-year-old Annie Wadsworth was a cousin of Charcoal. She can still remember when he came to her mother one night, when he was wanted for murder, and asked for food and sewing materials, which her mother gave him at great risk. 574

The most outstanding fact of Mrs. Wadsworth's life, however, is that her parents gave her away as a bride in the Old Way when she was only seven years old. Her father was Moon Calf; her mother, Forward Stealing Woman. They gave her to eighteen-year-old Willie Wadsworth, then better known as Wearing-a-Tailfeather-Headpiece. She says that she does not regret being married so early because her husband treated her very well throughout their life together. They had twelve children. 584

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

prohibited. Pipes can only be lighted from the fire by this attendant with service berry sticks. A blaze must be avoided as much as possible. The attendant cuts the tobacco and fills the pipe and when burnt out he must empty the ashes into a small hole in the ground near his seat. Everyone is expected to sit quietly, leaving the moving to him. He remains on duty during the night also.

Formerly, the tipi of the medicine woman was moved three times, four different camps resulting, the last being at its position in the circle for the sun dance. As a considerable journey was often necessary to reach the sun dance site these camps might be far apart. Theoretically, the camp is pitched late in the afternoon of each day. At the sun dance a special sweat-house ceremony takes place. This will be discussed later. After this the evening and greater part of the night are spent by those in attendance at the medicine woman's tipi in rehearsing the songs and instructing the son and daughter.

Like everything else, moving the camp of the medicine woman is a formal matter. The travois is made, painted red, and reserved for the special use of the medicine woman. When the time for breaking camp in the medicine woman's band arrives, she and her husband are led out and seated upon a robe at the west or rear of their tipi, facing in the direction to move. The parfleche of tongues and other paraphernalia are brought out by the attending women and put down beside the couple. The mother directs the attending women in taking down the tipi and hitching the horse to the travois. The parfleche of tongues is packed on the travois. When all is ready, the woman and man are led to their horses and assisted to mount, the woman riding the horse to the travois. The father and the son go ahead in single file, next the mother and the daughter, or medicine woman. They pause four times, as songs are sung. After they get some distance out, they stop and wait for the camp, now moving for the first time. This procession of four always leads, the two men side by side and behind them the two women likewise. At noon, when they stop for lunch, the two are again seated on a robe, the travois unhooked and laid down before them. Then follows the camp some distance behind. The old men form a circle and smoke near the pair.

At this time the father orders one of the men's societies to go forward and mark out a camp site. When this spot is reached, tipis are pitched and when everything is in place the medicine woman and her husband are taken inside.

On the morning of each day a society is given instructions to make the sweathouse at the camping place, a man to get the creeping juniper and another to cut out the smudge place. As the sweathouse procedure is a distinct ceremony, it will be treated under another head.

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

796 533 539 stuffed with tobacco seed. The song for the doll on the bonnet is: "Children are running about. They are running from us. They are running towards us. They are boys. They are powerful." The man says, "Give me the child," and makes the movement of reception. Another song is sung: "Child is crying," and the man imitates the crying of a child. The song for the little birds is: "Bird says water is my medicine; it is powerful," for the calf tail: "Man says calf tail I want," and for the arrow point: "Sharp points are on both sides." Then follows the song for the leather band which represents the lizard: "Yonder man, I am angry and mad at you." This song of the lizard refers to the prairie dog chief. The blue paint on the band represents water and the song for it is: "The blue waters are our medicine." The song for the feathers is: "Feathers I want." Another song for the plume on the feathers: "Red I want." This closes the evening ceremony. The man and woman are put to bed and all go home.

796 539 542 [484] This is the ceremony after the first sweathouse is made. Three more moves of the entire camp and three more sweathouses must be made. The fourth move and sweathouse is where the sun dance takes place. Nowadays, only one sweathouse is made for the sun dance.

796 It seems that the final camp is marked out by a society laying rocks around its bounds, according to which the arriving bands find their proper places.

796 798 At the fourth camp and on the fourth day, the natoas bundle is opened, or its formal ritual demonstrated. Early in the day another tipi is pitched before the medicine tipi and the covers are joined, thus enlarging the space and providing for a few spectators. A few men and women are invited to assist in the ceremony: the men use the rattles and with the women aid in the singing. The father and other men sit on the north side [193] of the tipi, the former next the medicine woman's husband; and the other women sit on the south side, the mother next to the medicine woman. She directs the medicine woman and the singing of the other women. The ceremony opens at about ten A. M. with the first series of songs in the ritual. [534] Three men hold a rattle in each hand, beating them upon the rawhide by a vigorous downward forward stroke, the seventh rattle is used by the father.

796 798 432 The ritual of the natoas will be found in Volume 7, pp. 215–220. Normally, this ceremony transfers the natoas to the daughter. She may, however, waive the right, in which case the bundle returns to the former owner. Yet, she seems to enjoy all the privileges accorded to one having been an owner.

Theoretically, no one can perform a transfer ceremony without having first owned the bundle in question. In case of the natoas, even now, a beaver owner is regarded as competent to conduct the proceeding, though he may never have gone through the ritual with his wife. This is consistent with the tradition that formerly the natoas was a part of the beaver

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

woman. Ever since has been trailing around with the Blackfeet. Tried to convince them that there are three gods only: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So deridingly they named him Three Persons."

Swimming their horses, rafting their belongings, the tribe crossed the river that afternoon and camped close back of our post. Before they moved out on the Musselshell, Kipp and Crow Big Feet had some serious talks. Kipp convinced him that the buffalo were going fast—a year or two more of them, and then no more.

"And when they, our real food, are gone, what then for us?" he asked one day.

"You will have to take to the white man's ways. Raise grains and white horns for food," Kipp answered.

"*Haiya, haiya!*" the chief exclaimed. "What a nothing existence that will be. Better that, when our buffalo pass, we pass too."

Next to arrive were the Kainahs (Bloods), about a thousand of them under chiefs Running Rabbit and Far-Off-in-Sight. After camping a few days close above our post, they moved out on Big Crooked Creek to hunt.

We did a thriving trade with these two tribes for elk, deer-, antelope, wolf-, and beaver skins until late fall, when they began bringing plenty of new, tanned, prime-furred buffalo robes. They were soon joined, to our great surprise, by Louis Riel and about one hundred families of his Red River, French-Cree mixed bloods, and a thousand or so Crees, led by their chief, Big Bear.

These Red Rivers and Crees arrived when both the Blackfeet and the Bloods had moved in to camp at our post for a few days to trade with us. Both of these tribes were enemies of the Crees. At once the different bands of the *Ikuni Kahtsi* (All Friends warriors society) of each tribe began painting and arming themselves, shouting that they would now completely exterminate the dog-face Crees. Well we knew that, if they did fight, our trade, so prosperously begun, would be ruined. Our hearts were low as Kipp sent word to the Blackfoot, Blood, and Cree chiefs to come and counsel with him. They soon arrived, and so for the first time I saw Big Bear: heavily, dumpily built, face coarse and unintelligent, poorly clothed. So different from the tall, fine-featured, alert, well-dressed chiefs of the

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

He had a fine, firm face and big, honest, eager eyes. He wore a plain buckskin shirt and leggings, quilled moccasins of Crow design, bow-and-arrows case at his shoulder. His hair was neatly combed in Crow fashion. Surely a Crow, I thought. But as the stern of the boat grated upon the shore, he surprised me by saying in perfect Pikuni-Blackfoot: "Oh, white man! Generous white man! I am a Pikuni man. I seek my Pikuni people. Can you tell me where they are?"

"They will arrive here today to camp and trade. I live with them. I came on ahead, my woman and I, last night. Get in. We will cross," I answered.

He shoved the boat out, springing in, and said, "Oh, Sun is good to me; he has helped me to survive the many dangers so that today I shall meet my own people."

"Who are you?" I asked.

"I am Three Bears," he proudly answered. "White man, perhaps you knew my father, Running Wolf, killed by the Crows when I was a young one of five winters; and if you knew him, you knew my mother, Red Bird Woman, a Crow slave since that time, and now—*baiya!*—but recently dead!"

"Let me think . . . . Yes, I do remember them. We were camped on Bear River. They were of a small party that went off to hunt. We never saw, never heard of them again," I answered.

"Are any of their close relatives—my close relatives—still living?"

"Yes. Your father's brother, Black Eagle; your mother's brother, Little Otter; several women."

"Oh, good! Good!" he cried. "My mother often told me of them." And then, pointing: "They must be my people, there coming down off the plain."

It was the long caravan of the Pikunis, chiefs in the lead, heading for the fort. There were two thousand men, women, and children riders; several thousand pack horses; more thousands of loose horses; countless wolflike dogs. We landed, hurried to the entrance of the fort where Beaver Child, in brass-buttoned, blue-cloth uniform, sword at his side, waited with his many *engagés* to greet the oncoming chiefs. The cannon in the east bastion boomed a welcome to them; they answered by firing many guns. All in their war clothes,

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

000 not fail to take back my buffalo horses that you stole and kill you. And this I tell you: Mink Woman, mine she is to be.' " And after a little: "Well, me for the Crow camp again, and soon."

"Now more than ever they will be watching for you to come. Don't go for another moon or two," I advised.

"You are right, always right. I heed your words. But oh, how hard for me will be that waiting," he sadly answered.

221 Came Falling-Leaves Moon (September), and we moved to Fort
• 484 Benton, traded for good supplies of powder and balls and other
[439] necessities, and went on across Big River. Camped for a time on Arrow Creek; then on Yellow (Judith) River; finally moved to South Bear (Musselshell) River, there to winter. Sun had set when
721 we struck its valley, turned up it to find a good camping place, and suddenly our scouts came hurrying back to us and said that just up around the near bend was a big camp of people, by appearance of their lodges, Crows. That terribly frightened our women; they begged that we turn right back whence we had come. No, said our chiefs. We would give the Crows no chance to attack us as we were long strung out upon the trail; we would camp right where we were. Never, never should it be said of us that, right in our own country, we had fled from the Crows.

While we men stood ready to fight, the women set up the lodges, got in wood and water, but would not start their fires until Chief Big Lake shouted to them: "You women, to have our lodges dark would give the Crows to believe that we fear them. So build your fires at once and keep them burning. Take courage, you women, we will protect you, keep you safe."

Impossible for them not to fear. They fumbled, trembled at their work. The children were so frightened that they did not cry. When the lodges were all set up we drove our horses within the circle of them, held them there, and then, let come whatever might come, we were ready for it. As soon as it was dark, Big Lake sent scouts out to learn what the Crows were doing. Returning, they said that, like us, their lodge fires were burning, and they, too, were holding their horses close within their camp.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Three Suns' War Record

SCENE 15 (1863):

North Cypress Hills, on the Elbow River, Northwest Territory. A large war party of Piegans were on the march when they came upon four Sioux, in thick timber, who had dug a pit in which they were well protected. The Piegans surrounded and fought them all one day, losing four killed and seventeen wounded. The tree shown as leaning over the Sioux was a large one up which Big Nose finally climbed, his squaw trying to pull him back. Armed with a double-barreled shotgun loaded with bullets, he killed all four Sioux; although they had been many times shot at, they had earlier been saved by the large limbs of the tree.

SCENE 16 (1854):

In the Snake country. A party of 124 Piegans encountered a lodge of Snake Indians—father, mother, and two grown sons. The gun shown was owned by one of the sons. The three men were killed, the woman being spared. The Piegans then returned to their own country without further incident of note; this took thirty-six days, as they were not mounted.

SCENE 17 (1858):

On the Milk River, in Montana, where Chinook is now situated. The Piegan camp there consisted of five hundred lodges. Nearly as many Assiniboines and Crows were camped about twenty miles away. Fighting began about midway between the camps at about nine in the morning, ending in defeat of the Crows and Assiniboines, who had seven killed and ten wounded, the Piegans losing one killed. The two horses shown were captured, one being wounded in the neck. The rider of the black horse, when dismounted by the wounding of the horse, escaped into the brush. Big Nose ran up, and the horse got away. Sitting Woman, a noted Crow chief, rode the black horse and disgraced himself by hiding in the brush. During the next charge Big Nose captured the other horse. The sorrel horse, being very fat, broke down and was captured, his rider getting on behind another Indian, thus making his escape.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

of its many streams and constantly depended upon them for their living.

Then, we know not how long ago it was, a war party of the Pikunis, traveling into the far south, the Always-Summer-Land, made a very strange discovery, so very strange that they could hardly believe what they saw: enemies of some kind were riding animals (horses) as big as elk and leading others packed with their belongings. Said the leader of the party: "Elk-dogs! That is what those strange animals are. My friends, we must have some of them."

Came night. Waiting until the enemies were asleep, the Pikuni war party went to their camp, took many of the strange, useful animals, and in time got safely back to their far-north people with them. At once war parties of all three of the tribes began going to Always-Summer-Land to obtain some of the elk-dogs. They took them from different Indian tribes and from a different kind of white men living there. Also, from some of those men that they killed they got strange weapons: very long big-knives (swords); long, iron-pointed spears; and iron shirts (shirts of mail). No doubt you remember that our friend Curly Bear, who died not long ago, had one of them that was taken by one of his far-back ancestors, and that it was buried with him. Well, the time came when our three tribes had so many elk-dogs that they no longer went into the Always-Summer-Land for more of them.

Our far-back fathers soon found that nothing was so exciting, so satisfying as the running of a herd of buffalo with a fast, well-trained elk-dog. With a good bow, a quiver of arrows, and such a horse, a hunter could often select and kill ten or twelve fat cows in a single run. So was it that *piskans* were not used so much for obtaining plentiful supplies of meat and hides. Still, used they were, for, as some of the wise, old, Sun's men said, it was not right to let old and sacred customs die.

A favorite *piskan* of our Pikuni tribe was the one on the south side of Milk (Teton) River and just below Old Man Lying Butte (on Teton River, nine miles above Choteau, Montana, U.S. Highway 89). When I was in my eighth summer (approximately 1843), we Pikunis moved from Two Medicine Lodges River to camp, for my

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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539 kiotâχpummàu satsópatsì, auáks-
436 opaiks miníkimiks, pistáχkanists,
237 apáipistsiks, sikapáipistsiks, án-
nyaie nitáiâχpummau. Túkskæmà
nisitóianàsiu náipistsìua, nisóianà-
siu túkskæmà náipistsìua. Satsó-
patsists nitsáinasiau. Auáksopaiks
natokíanasiau noχketsíkepipiau.
539 O'χkotokiksisaikètanists, síksa-
439 pistsimàtsiks mátaitukskàm má-
taitsanàsiau. Pistáχkanists nitúks-
kæmà imoiána namísooiau. Apák-
539 sipstaχkànists nistókianàsisau,
435 nâχkitáianisooiau. A'nniaie nitái-
439 âχpummau. Itauáχkyapâχpum-
mau. Itáutapâχpummàu. Itaná-
mistutsiu. A'itsksistutsisì, áikai-
saiès-oχkìm ótakèsina ótstaukatskà-
nists.

539
221

539 A'ipiàpsamiu einí. Aiiχ'kími-
224 kuyì itáutsistutsiu. Mátoχkono-
481 yìuatseiní. I'kæmakàpiu, stámikiks
onóχkitoχkòinimatoχpì. Soχksi-
káiiχ'kimikuyì itáutaministutsiu.
Itækítsonskuyiu ánniχ'kaie iχ'-
tauáuatutsiu. Akâ'χkatsiskuyiu,
O'maχkspætsikuyì, áuniaie iχ'-
tauáksistutsiu. Itapáuamiàksistu-
tsiu Aukáipotàskuyi. Itapáipuχ-
[103] sapistutsiu Einiótonisi, Akástse-

was not good]. Then they began quickly to make robes. The people counted for themselves [the number of the robes]. One person had twenty, thirty, fourty robes to buy things with. Those that had not good horses suffered for [want of] something to buy with. They all went on [to the trading-post] to buy powder, hard cartridges, tobacco, white blankets, black blankets; such things they would buy. One blanket costed five robes, one blanket [another one] costed four robes. Powder [one gallon] costed one robe. A hundred cartridges costed two robes. Flints, [and] black gun-springs costed together one robe. Only four [plugs] of tobacco were [to be bought for] one robe. Of white tobacco they got eight [plugs], if it costed two robes. Such things they would buy. Then they would go home from buying. Then they came home after buying. Then they moved up on the prairie [from the river-side]. When they had moved on the prairie, the women had a big supply of lodge-pole-pins.

Then they hunted for the buffalo. They would move to the Cypress hills [literally: Striped earth]. They could not find the buffalo. There were not many places [literally: it was scarce], where they found the bulls. They moved down on the other side of the Wide-gap. The Round forest, that was the place they moved to. They would go to

ksînæskuyîu. A'inoßχkonoyiu einí. Itáumatapauakimàu. Itâ'χpokyapauauatutsiu, einí ómßχtapakaièpi. Písamiks itáiinapitakìuu. Kokúsi itáipuyìau nínoiks: Mínatsipiomaχkàt. Aiínapitakiòp. A'mom otsítakaièpi einíua, itauáuaksisau. Itáukakiu, áikaitsauapotoyìu otápimi ótàsiks. Natô'sii mátæsmiuàie. Aikskísaie, saiipúnikskisàie, itáiikokakiu. O'nokâmitàsina áikaisaiepiskoàu. Mátaisæmòa itáisapiskoχtòaii sámiks kátauaiâχtsimiks. A'istæmisokaniòp: A'iana itsínitau. A'isautomoau. O'ksòkoaiks itápauasainisòiau. O'ksòkoaiks ßχkanáikimmatoχkoßmiaiks. Ki omí aχkúiinnimàni itsítáisapiχ'takiau píksistsimàni. Ki itæχtísainisatsiiau. Omí nínai ápauauaχkai itâ'χkotsiauaie aχkúiinnimàn. Itauánistsìauaie: Annóχk ámoi kitótsisisin. Kímmokit, nitsikímmatoχkui. Nâχksikímmokit, naχkítskìχ't. Minakáuoχs kokuísts, naχkítsàpi motokâ'ni. Much-driftwood, [and] the Big Sandhills [local names] and [then] turn back. They turned back and moved up to Rotten-willow-wood [a local name]. They were moving this way to Buffalo-lip [and] Many-snakes [also local names]. They finally found the buffalo. Then they began to chase the buffalo. Then they moved about that way, where there were many buffalo. Those that hunted far gave the alarm [suspecting the enemy being near]. In the night the chiefs would talk. [They would say:] Do not go far. We have had alarm. Over there, where there are many buffalo, they ran away [scared by some people, enemies of this tribe]. They [the people of the camp] were careful, they would not turn loose their male horses. They would look at the Sun. If he [the Sun] had stripes on each side [the Sun-dogs], if he had often stripes on the sides, then they were very careful. All the horses were not driven far [from the camp]. After a short time the hunters, that did not listen [to the chiefs, and went far from the camp], were charged on [by the enemies]. Then suddenly there would be said: A certain one was killed. He was scalped. His relations began to go about crying. All his relations would suffer. And they would put weeds cut-up with tobacco in a pipe. And they went crying to him [the medicine-man]. To that man, who was walking about,

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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on his [the young man's] face. He [the old man] would give him his top-knots [tail-feathers] to carry them. Then they began to roll their things up. His rope, his whip, his moccasins, his buffalo-skin [to patch up his moccasins], those were the things, he would roll together. Then they began to hurry each other. They stood in front of one of the lodges. They took hold of the parfleches. They drummed on them, they rattled their sticks on them. The women sang with them. Then they [the young men] scattered in different directions. Then they went home to get their things.

Ki ómikskàukiau áisepiomatòiau. Támokèkaiau kokúyi. Apinákuyi támatomatòiau. Itsitótòiau niétaχtaii. A'utaiistsi ksísoχsikòniks. Nátsitapìiks támaisòminiì. Káksikimanatsìau otátsimauaiks, opástamoauaiks. Aiísopamotototàiau. A'ipotàiau. A'katotàiau. Ki amóksi itáχkánaisoòiau. Otskétstanoàiau áitsòtsinimiau. Nátsitapìiks iχ'potómiχ'tsinii. A'itamakitsuyinipitsìau, maniststokimiχ'p. Istúisòiau. A'upitsòtsimiau otskétstanoùi. Tamúpaiàksistotoχsiau. A'iksistapaiksistoχsoiau. Amó potáni itomátatòminau. Atsoáskuyi aitotóiau. Itokékaiau. Itáinokàiau, taká imikóaie. A'iksistsinokaiau, itákapimàiau. Mistásts annistsiaie iχ'tápimniau. Matoyópaists iχ'tsípstsikaiàuaists. O'tskaistuyìs, mátomatòaiks. Itaníu omá itamóa: A'nsámik. Mátakomatàu, amái-

And that way over there they started during the night. Then they camped in the night. In the morning then they started again. Then they came to a river. They began to float pieces of ice. Two of them then began to strip their clothes off. They just put on their fire-steels, [and] their rotten pieces of wood [to make fire with] as top-knots [that these might not be wet]. They went on ahead across the river to build a fire. They built a fire. They had built a big fire. And those others all went in [the water]. They had each of them a hold of their raft. Two of them were the leaders. They were nearly frozen in the water, because the water was so cold. It was winter, when they went on the raid. They pulled their raft ashore. Then

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stuyiu. Támsamìi nítaitapìiks. Mátsipiòaiks, itsinóyiau ùnnatskéini. Túkskæmà itoχtúiskunækiu. Kyáieskèinin ótæχkstàn. Itomátapinotsiau. Itápaiàkoχpskaiau, kænístsi áutæχsinatòmiau. Itomátapòiau. A´istoχkimiau omím otápimanoài. Itáutomoχsìau. Niuóksaitapìiks ánniksaie iskæχkósii. Ki ámoksimàukiau, áutapòtsiau. Nítsinokàupiau.

they began to dress up. They had done warming themselves. Then they left the fire. They came to the forest. There they camped. They began to clear the snow, which was deep. They had done clearing the snow, then they would make a lodge. They would make a lodge of sticks. They would put in rye-grass for beds. Because it was so cold, they did not go on. Then the leader said: Go and hunt. We shall not go on, it is very cold. Then two of them hunted. They were not far, then they saw a few buffalo-cows. One of them went up to shoot. It was a very fat buffalo-cow [literally: a bear-cow], what he killed. They began to skin. Then they began to tie the pieces of meat together [to pack them], and the rest [what they could not pack on their backs] they dragged along [on the snow]. Then they began to go. They came near their lodge. They called ahead for help. There were three that stretched their hands back [that means: that went back to the two hunters to help them to bring in the meat]. And there they were, they came back with the meat. They sat happy.

Piksískùnists omí itamói otúkskis itsisóχtoyiauaie, maχkóksoatæ´χpiai. Amóksi manikæ´piks tæmótuikæmikùnamaiau. Túkskaists pekísts áitsæstàiχ´piau. A´itaisuiaχkumiau. Nítanistsinatsìau ánni áskàkχkuyi. A´itsìi otsikúnamanoàuaists. Síksiksists itoχtómiau, ánnistsiaie itsisúiχ´taiau.

They put some of the entrails on a piece of bark for the leader, that he might eat them. These young men then began to make roasts in a hurry. The ribs of one side were staked up [near the fire]. They [the ribs] would shoot their juice into the fire. They [the ribs] looked like a

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Itsisópitsix´kètainunists. Ki itánnitspikamàiau. Itásokotskinaikimàiau. Omí itamóii ǎ´χkanautamìtsiau. Apinákuyi ómiks osákoaχsoàiauaiks ánniksaie áipopòtaii, A´umatòiau. Mátatstuyìu. A´itàmiksistsikùi. A´itàmauauaχkàiiau. Nitúkskɐmà áiisapàumaχkau, maχkítsàps noχkétsitapì. Támatskùnɐkiau. Anáukoχtsi otokísi támotsimiau. Támokekaiau. Iχ´kanáiistsiau. Túkskɐmà isapútsists ɐkáutsim. Aiisoists mátsikaksìnimian. Támaãkoχtàpimaiau. A´iksistàpimaiau. Omá manikǎ´piua itomátapiamistsìmiχ´kimaie otokísi. O´χkotokì inákskuyi potáni íkãikanaisòoχtom. Mistsists, satapíkoyìksi, támiksisiksìm. Itatsótstautsimàists. Omí otokísi itsítsapspistòm. Áχkéyi itsísapasoyìnai. Aiisoists kákanistauaiitsistàinim. Itsítsapoχtòmaists. Omí mistsísi, satapíkoiiksìu, omístsim óχkotokists túkskàie támitsapàχkim. Nisitoists támàχkanàisapoχtòm óχkotòkists. Itomátapakùtsiu omím otokyópisànim. A´itàsakutsiu. Itsáχkim anáukoχtsists. Stsíki mátsitsàpoχtom óχkotokists. Matsáχkim. Stsíki mátsitsàpoχtom óχkotok, mátoχtakoχsimàu. Mátoχkoiãχtsimìunists, atotámakutsisàn. A´iksistopisàinu, kánnistsinie iχ´tsiksístsoyiàu. Iχ´tokóyiauaists.

short-back butte. All their roasts were cooked. They put them on willows, those they use for plates. On those they put their cooked meat. And then they split the ribs. Then they broke the ends of the ribs. All of them would provide the leader first. In the morning the younger ones among them would make the fire. Then they went on. It was not cold then. It was a fine day. They went happy about. One would run ahead, that he might see people of the other tribe. Then they shot again [something to eat]. Then they took half of the hide. Then they camped. They all packed the pieces of meat [on their backs]. One of them took the crow-guts. They cut the boss-ribs off. Then they began to make their lodge. They got through building their lodge. One of the young men began to cut the meat off from the skin. He put stones of small size all in the fire. He began to sharpen sticks, forked sticks. He put them on four corners. He hung the hide on [the four sticks]. He poured water [on the hide]. He just cut the meat down to the ends of the boss-ribs. He then put them [the boss-ribs] in the pot [meaning: on the hide]. With that stick, the forked stick, he put one of the stones in the pot. He put five more stones all in the pot. Then the hide-pot began to boil. It boiled over. Then he pulled out half of the stones. Then he

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put again some more stones in the pot. He pulled them out again. Then he put again some more stones in the pot to make it boil harder. They [the boiling pots] do not listen [that means: do not quit boiling], when they once start to boil. They had done boiling meat, and from those [the boiled boss-ribs] they got all they wanted to eat.

539 A´ikoko, manikâ´piu itomátap-
484 apistutsim omístsi sapútsists.
726 A´toiistutsimàists. A´itsiaists. Itái-
782 sustutsìsimaiau. Itauátsimòiiχ´-
264 kaiau. Nátsàupiu támoχkotauaists. Iχ´tsitátsimoiiχ´kauaists. A´niu: Amóm matápiuam itapáuauaχ-kàupam, nâ´χtsitaχkòtàs, sokápsi, áχsi, ákoχtaχsautakiòp. Otáuoki, omám aχkyúpoχtàm àkéuam nitáksitsipsatsìmatau, náχkâχsotsokauàmaχsi. A´moiàuk tákoχtsikàkstaki. Amóksi nitúyi â´χkanauanìau. Mátaisamòa itâχkóinimiu noχkétsitapì. Itáumatòiau. Túkskam manikâ´pi itauánistsiuaie: Anatsíkastsit. O´miskaukinai itáumatomaχkàiinai. A´ikaksksimìuaie: A´nniinaiàki saiitáiapìniki, nitákitsitòto. Itsitáutòaie. Itauánistsinaie: Kikatáupaipistsitàkiχ´pa? Otsítauanikaie: A´mom einína,
539 otsítakaièpi, ánnimaie itauáuak-
726 sisàu. Aisákokakiòp. Annóχk-
484 ksistsikùi mínatsitstsìs, áχkskù-nakì. A´ksikakimàup, omím einína otsítauauaksisàχp, akomátaistoχ-kiχ´p. A´nnikai ákitapiokàup. A´uke, kipipótak, áχkitskìtaup. Itáksokàupi, mátaksipòtaup. Annóm ákaitaiksistsìsik kitákitsaun-

In the night a young man began to prepare [to cook] the crow-guts. He made them holy. They were cooked. They began to cool the guts. Then they prayed. [The guts] were given to the last one [the man sitting on the end]. Then he prayed with them [with the guts]. He said: May I get a horse from those people, we are going to, a fine one, a good one, [and] may we get them [the horses] alltright. When we get back home, I will talk from myself to a [certain] woman over there at home, that I may become her relation [meaning: her husband]. This [piece of gut], [that] I shall bite off, is she [represents that woman, or, rather, is dedicated to her]. Those others would all say the same. After a short while they found the enemy. Then they went on. [The leader] would say to one of the young men: Go on ahead as a scout. And that way over there he went off on a run. He [the leader] told him what to do: If you do not see anything over there, I will get

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noàuaists. Annóχk kokús áksepiauàuaχkaup. A´kapinakus ákitokekaup. A´kitsòkaup.

A´istaχkàpiu, miskskítomatò, sépiauàuaχkau. A´ikiχ´kiχ´tòpiu. Mátsitaumatò. A´isaniauatòs, matsitáupiu. Itáutsisiu. Aiksistótsisis, mátsitàumato. A´kapinàko, ipisóaχs áutamiskapìu, itokékaup. Kóniskuyì ákoχkanistapainokatòm. A´nnimaie noχkitómuitsiu. Nitáuksokau. Itapínako ksiskanìutunìi. Ki omá nátsitapì tamíniχ´katainu: Anísomaχkàk. A´isamoχtomaχkàinoainiki, nitákitomatoχpinan. Màtsipotáuaiks. Ki omístsi otsítsauànoaists áuatòminu. Nítsnikokòtoinists. A´iksistapàuyiau, itomátòinu. O´mi otsókani, itáiniχ´kiu omá sóyepiχ´tsìu. Itsipápaukau. Itanìu: Omám nítsokskisthere [meaning: you must wait there for me]. Then [the leader and his party] came there. Then he [the leader] would say to him [the scout]: Did you suspect anything? He was told by [the scout]: Where there are many of them, there these buffalo stampede [because there are people near]. Let us be careful. To-day there must be nobody shooting [literally: that he might shoot]. We shall try hard, that we get close over there, where the buffalo stampede. There we shall sleep about. Come on, now quickly make a fire, that we may cook. We shall not make a fire, where we are to sleep. Cook here food enough, that you will carry with you. This night we shall travel on during the night. Close before day-light we shall camp. Then we shall sleep.

The sun went down, then they went instead [of going in daytime], they went during the night. They would sit down now and then [to rest]. Then they would go again. After they had travelled a long time, they would sit down again. Then they began to smoke. When they had done smoking, then they started again. Towards morning, [when] the morning-star was coming up, then we would camp. They would clear the snow. There they lay down [literally: they doubled up]. They slept a while. Then it was early in the morning. And two of them were called upon:

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539 726 484 nòkâm nitáuanik: Mokákit. I'kakaîm ónokânitàsina kítoχkot. Mokákinik, ákaχsiu. Kinétoχkanìstoχkot kiχ'tsípimiuaχk. Kitáksikaχkapitau. Akaîimi otopóksimiks. Á'nnyaie áuaniu omá pápaukau. Amóksi saχkúmapiks iχ'tâ'χkanaitamitakiiχ'k omíχ'k opápaukau. Támauinatò. Súkiauàuaχkau. Omíksik íkastsìksik itámsoksinoyiuaiks otáumaχkàni. Itsókaipiu. Itámisoksinoyiuàiks otótskanmaχkaniàiks, otáuχkumsaiks: uwú +. Kánniksimàukiau, áitsipùyiau. A'tànnimakàiau. Ki omá itamó itsitápiposkòaiks. A'nistsiuaiks: Káχkitsàpiχ'puaua? Otánikaiks: Nínitsàpiχ'pinan. A'mistomàuk sákiauauakimàu. Itápsapìu atsóaskui.

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Run on ahead. After you have run a long time, then we shall go on [and follow up]. They did not make fire. And they ate the food that they carried. It [the food] was frozen hard. [When] they had done eating about, then they started. During the time of his sleep the leader was singing. He had a dream. He said [when he woke up]: The one that painted my face, told me: Be careful. I give you a great many horses. If you are careful, it will be good. I still give you a striped horse. You will cut him loose [from his stake]. His companions were many. This is what that one, that had a dream, said [to them]. These boys were all happy from that dream of his. Then they went on. They were still travelling. They suddenly saw the scouts running. Then they [the war-party] stopped. Then they saw them [the scouts] running in a circle, while they were yelling: uwú +. There they [the war-party] were, [there] they stopped. They made a pile of buffalo-chips, and the leader went back to meet them [the scouts, who would come up and run around those buffalo-chips and knock them over, so that the war-party immediately knew, that they had seen the enemy]. He said to them: Did you really see [the enemy]? They told him: We really saw [him]. He is close by still chasing buffalo. He [the leader] began to look about the forest.

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Late in the evening of that same day there was a hard, brief thunderstorm, with much lightning. [Anyone who has seen lightning on the High Plains of Montana has no difficulty in understanding why the Blackfoots regarded it as a supernatural expression; it is lightning totally different from any I have seen elsewhere.] When it was over, the Thunder Medicine Man came again to my father's lodge.

My father said, "I am sorry. I have done my best, but my arms are not long enough. ["My arms are not long enough," is the literal translation of a Blackfoot phrase which is intended to suggest something like, "my influence is not broad enough," or, "my authority is not strong enough."] The people will not camp together, and the Holy Woman will not allow the lodge to be moved."

The Thunder Medicine Man said, "I am sorry to hear this. The Medicine Lodge is not in a good place. Thunder is not happy with the way the people are conducting themselves. Misfortune will come to them."

At that time there were several Piegan children attending the Indian school down at Fort Shaw. Among them were my wife's younger brother, one of Yellow Wolf's sons, and the son of my brother, Cross Guns. I was asked to go down and bring the children home for summer vacation, so I left the next day for Fort Shaw. The journey to Fort Shaw could not be made in a single day, and as I camped that first night north of Depuyer I was waked by another violent thunderstorm. I had no way of knowing it at the time, but when I got back home I learned that upon that night the Medicine Lodge at Old Agency had been struck by lightning. No one but the Holy Woman had been killed. The Holy Woman had been killed by a bolt of lightning. [As though it were not enough that this incident is a verifiable historical fact, some years later, when the daughter of this Holy Woman sponsored a Medicine Lodge, she too was struck and killed by lightning. Once again, the Holy Woman was the only one to die.]

I was delayed at Fort Shaw for two days because upon arriving there I discovered that Cross Guns' boy had broken his hip in falling from a horse. The Superintendent of the Indian School, a man named Campbell, refused to send the boy to the hospital, and in order to borrow a buggy in which to take the youngster home I had to go all the way back to Choteau. Campbell also did not wish to allow one of the girls to go home,

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159 so I lied to him. I told him that the girl's father had died and
484 the girl was his only heir and that it would be necessary for
752 her to return home for the property settlement. I told him that
657 a lawyer had told me to bring her home, and when I said this,
895 Campbell not only let her go but insisted upon giving us rations. He also gave us eight pillows with which to make Cross Guns' boy comfortable in the buggy. [I researched this portion [128] of the narrative with great thoroughness, and positively established as facts the following: (1) Cross Guns' boy did break his hip in a fall from a horse; (2) The Chief was forced to transport the boy by buggy all the way from Fort Shaw to his home near Browning (a distance of well over one hundred miles!); (3) F. C. Campbell, the superintendent of the Indian school at Fort Shaw, later became both Supervisor of Indian Industries for the States of Montana, North Dakota, Wyoming and Idaho *and* Superintendent of the Blackfoot Indian Reservation, and although Campbell managed by hook or crook to remain in the Indian Service for 39 years, his conduct was such that at long last, on July 24, 1929, F. C. Campbell became the subject of a special investigation by the Committee on Indian Affairs of the United States Senate.]

159 Cross Guns' boy had to lie on his back in the bed of the
484 wagon, and since it would have been inhuman to force him to
752 travel in the daytime, with the sun in his face, we traveled
[273] at night, by moonlight. We had no medicine to give the boy, but at Choteau I had gotten hold of some whiskey and we gave this to the boy to ease his pain. We dosed him with whiskey until he passed out.

159 North of Choteau, on a bright, moonlit night, with every star
484 clear in the sky, we were traveling along when suddenly light-
752 ning began to flash. Drags His Robe, Heavy Breast and some
132 other old-timers were traveling with me at the time, and none of us could figure out the reason for this sudden advent of fierce lightning flashes. We stopped and took shelter, but although the lightning continued until dawn, not a drop of rain fell and not a cloud darkened the bright full moon. It was the strangest thing I had ever experienced, and I assure you that the boy was not the only one to take a shot of whiskey that night.

At Depuyer we got some more bootleg whiskey for the boy, and finally we all made it back home. The first thing I noticed
159 upon arrival was that the Medicine Lodge had been torn down,
346 and the first person I encountered, a lady named Goods Steal-
165
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159 798 796 [756] [432] under any circumstances, use red paint on your blanket." The medicine articles which I purchased from the Thunder Medicine Man included a drum, some medicine bells, and a small piece of metal.

[432] Later on [in the fall of the year 1901] I went through a ceremony with Flat Tail and Drags His Robe in order to purchase a medicine pipe bundle. This bundle contained two medicine pipes. One pipe came from Sun; the other pipe came from Thunder.

159 796 787 763 784 [776] During the Pipe Ceremony I used red paint on my blanket, and that same night I had a dream in which two men came to my house to visit me. They said that I had been warned not to use red paint, and since I had ignored the warning they were going to punish me by taking away my first child, my little girl. They said that they would be back to let me know when they were going to take my daughter away from me. The men did not tell me who they were, but I knew that they were Thunder and Sun.

159 484 154 763 I went with my friend Many Guns to visit the Bloods over in Canada [a customary response of the Plains Indian to an emotional crisis was the paying of a visit to a distant relative or close friend; this custom is adhered to by the Blackfoot Indian even today], and while I was in Canada word reached me that my daughter was very ill. I returned home immediately.

159 763 [759] At that time I was still living near the main fork of Cut Bank Creek. When I arrived at my house, my father was holding my little girl in his lap. Earrings, who was an Indian doctor, was attempting to treat the child, but as soon as I entered my baby ran to me and clung to me.

159 763 787 That night I dreamed that the same two men came to me and told me that very soon now they would be coming for my child. In the same dream I saw a rider coming. The two men pointed to the rider and said, "We want your daughter, and we want that rider too." The rider was Mad Wolf. My daughter died the next day. Mad Wolf died four days later.

159 798 The drum that I had received from the Thunder Medicine Man had been the favorite plaything of my little girl. After my child's death I could no longer bear even to look at the drum, so I threw it into the creek.

The following year I attended a Medicine Lodge above Browning. The Holy Woman was Snake Woman, the wife of Morning Gun. There had been a flood that spring, and when

six years before the old Chief passed away in Washington, D.C., still fighting for the rights of his people. The Chief has already given me a photostatic copy of the official proclamation of his chieftainship.

In order to understand the significance of this document, one must have some knowledge of the social and economic structure of the Blackfoot Nation as it existed in the century past. Especially must one have some acquaintance with the Blackfoot system of government and the hierarchy of chiefs under which the Blackfoots lived. The movies usually portray a band of Indians being ruled over by a single chief whose primary pastime is to lead his warriors off after as many enemy scalps as he can lay his scalping knife on. This is bunk. In the first place, the taking of enemy scalps or in most cases even the killing of the enemy was not the most laudatory of feats among the Plains Indians. Indians--the Blackfoots, at least--were considerably more practical than that. Like all cultural groups, they had some damn-fool ideas, but they were much more interested in possessing something useful or necessary to their existence--a gun or a horse--than in having somebody's old second-hand hair. (It was the Blackfoot women, not the men, who displayed the scalps during a victory dance, and oftentimes they were simply thrown away afterward--unless the hair might be used in decorative work.)

Insofar as the chiefs were concerned, a war chief was generally of his own making and he might or might not have much influence in the tribe; there were many war chiefs in every Indian band, and each one was subject to fall from favor should his medicine fail to work and his followers (who might be only a few of his own relatives or clan members) take a drubbing by the enemy. War chief was a step in the right direction, though, and if a war chief displayed consistent qualities of wisdom and good judgment as well as bravery he might well earn the position of *band chief* or *civil chief*, who was the real leader of the tribe.

The band chief had a lot of influence in the tribe, but he also carried a tremendous weight of responsibility. Not only did he sit at the head of the council of war chiefs of his band, but he made decisions regarding where and when the camp would be moved, where and when the buffalo hunts would take place, etc. It was also the responsibility of the band chief to see to it that when the camp moved, all persons, including the aged and the infirm, were provided with horses so that they would be able to move their belongings at a pace that would not delay the group in general. This was why horses were so important to the Blackfoots, and why the ability

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to steal horses from the enemy was the primary key to social and political advancement among all the Plains Tribes. It is also of importance to know that not only was a chief expected to be able to obtain horses and guns from the enemy, he was expected to be very generous in loaning or giving these articles to those who lacked them. Especially the head or civil chiefs were often quite poor simply because they had given so much of their material accumulation to other persons. This great burden of obligation which the civil chief bore in the name of his people was one reason that some war chiefs actually refused to accept the position of civil chief: they were too stingy, and of course when this fact became known the tribe would not have retained them as civil chiefs anyway. Generosity is still highly regarded among the Blackfoots, and even today the stingy Indian is regarded with contempt. Obviously then, since the Chief's older brother Wolf Tail retained in his personal possession the fantastic number of one thousand horses, the man was not overly burdened with charitable tendencies. And that is why old Onistáipokuh made sure that my Indian dad, who is generous to a fault, became civil chief in his stead. Little could the old Chief have known that in 1935 the Wheeler-Howard Act would deprive his generous and capable son of any real authority and place tribal control instead in the hands of a tribal council.

The fact that the Blackfoots and Plains Tribes in general were directed in the more important aspects of life by the authority of a civil chief, does not in any way imply a sequacious leaning on the part of Indians. The civil chief controlled the destiny of his people only so long as the strength of his personality and the obvious correctness of his judgments served to vindicate his authority. The American Indian was and is an individualist in the most trying connotation of the word; no single person ever held total sway over any Plains Tribe. Every Indian battle ever fought was conducted not as a single concerted effort under the master guidance of a single commander or strategist-in-chief, but as the coincidentally combined efforts of numerous small groups or individuals, each fighting as he damn well pleased. This is true even of such supposedly masterminded military operations as Chief Joseph's withdrawal to the Canadian line and, especially, the Battle of the Little Big Horn. It is, from the point of view of the Indian at least, a damn shame that the Plains Indians couldn't have stuck together. Even today, one of the main problems of the American Indians is that they cannot stick together and function politically as a single force. The Plains Indian constituted the best light cavalryman the world has

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538 726 miles to the south, represents not only the most authentically detailed narration of a Plains Indian war party ever recorded but an invaluable portrait of the desperate and somehow pathetic last days of a culture which had already heard the tolling of the knell. This verbal portrait is not entirely a pretty one—certainly not one to gratify the preconceptions of the romantic—for the Chief, as always, painted with a brush of complete and uncompromising honesty. The Old-timer spared neither himself nor anyone else in presenting the unvarnished facts, and the confident exactitude of his recall is a thing to be marveled at. The color of each horse, the clothing worn by his own party and by the enemy, the exact place a bullet from his gun struck an antelope: all this and much more he was able to tell me.

The war party here described is well known to history, and it bespeaks the uncommon modesty of the Chief that, until my first acquaintance with him in 1958, it had been believed that the last survivor of this adventure, a Blood Indian named Crazy Crow, had passed away twenty years before. The Chief's first mention of his participation in this historically important event was very casual, and it was not until now that I was able to induce him to relate the actualities of the Last Scalp Dance in any detail. But it has now been established beyond any possible doubt that the Chief himself is the final survivor of the affair, and listening to the old fellow recite the details of the last important Plains Indian war party, exactly as he had lived them, was to me every bit as thrilling as though Custer had suddenly popped from the shadows and asked me if I would like to know what really happened at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

721 726 [484] The famous war party itself, which occupied a time of nearly one month and involved a round trip by the participants of more than one thousand miles, took place in the spring of 1889, but the events which eventually prompted the raid began more than two years previous to that date.*

[657] During the first few years following their shared tragedy of the near extinction of the buffalo, the Indian tribes of the Northern Plains lived in a situation of restless peace. Then one day in September of 1886, on the Blood Reserve just across the International Boundary in Canada, suddenly the peace was shattered. Ten horses

[114] * For his gentlemanly assistance in verifying the historicity of the Chief's last war party, and for many other kind favors, I am very grateful to Hugh A. Dempsey, archivist of the Glenbow Foundation of Calgary, Alberta, Canada and editor of the *Alberta Historical Review*.

Blood Reserve. Across the Belly River, adjacent to the community of Stand-off is the Stand-off colony of Hutterites, and on the south end of the St. Mary River Reservoir is another larger Hutterite colony. Each of the colonies performs some services for the Indians, selling them produce and repairing broken machinery. The Hutterites also farm leased land on the Reserve and meet their Indian neighbors in the surrounding towns and villages.

Today face to face personal communication is supplemented by television and radio as well as the telephone and telegraph. All of these sources are available to the contemporary Blood. Lethbridge has two commercial radio stations and a television station which broadcasts entertainment and news. Radios and television sets are available to the Indian population, and, as the Reserve is nearly totally electrified, they are widely in evidence. Telephones are not generally available on the Reserve, but all of the schools, government facilities, and the general store are so equipped. The local telegraph station is in the Canadian Pacific Railway terminal in Cardston, located on the railroad right-of-way on the Blood Reserve.

The Blood seem to prefer the face-to-face mode of communication, however, and today people travel near and far by auto on the Provincial highways or the graveled roads maintained by the Blood Band. The favored vehicle for

484 [493] transportation is the pick-up truck, and daily, Indian families make the trip into Cardston or to one of the Indian communities to buy food, borrow tools, seek advice, or merely converse. This form of communication is of great importance to the Blood, and, to the ethnographer, it would seem that the great majority of Blood are on the move most of the time.

Blood Economy

433 The Blood Indian Reserve is not an economic unit. It is a space in western Canada in which a number of Indians attempt to sustain or advance themselves by individual labor and individual capital investment. These efforts are generally tied to economic variables off the Reserve. Very few Indians are attempting to advance up the socio-economic ladder by working for other Indians. All advancement must come from selling one's produce or services to the white men who control the local agricultural and livestock markets and production centers. Intra-Reserve economic exchange is generally limited to working for food, gift exchanges, haying, and the limited sale of horses. Working for other Indians, however, is practiced and preferred by some individuals, par-
464 ticularly the young men. It is generally the uncapitalized young man, without tractor, truck, or hay rack, that works for wages or a percentage of the net income on haying operations. Other kinds of employment of this nature are branding,